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Talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina Continue in New York

Krajina Delegation's Attendance Doubtful

LD0702140093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1326 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] New York, February 7 (TANJUG)—Co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and David Owen have had no comments so far on the non-arrival of a delegation of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] in New York, but they are inclined to believe that the Krajina delegation has been delayed as a result of transportation problems, rather than that they have called off their trip to New York.

The authorities of Krajina, which is a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA), on Friday [5 February] decided that their delegation would not go to New York to meet with representatives of the Republic of Croatia and that they would negotiate with them only after Croatia unconditionally complied with U.N. Security Council Resolutions 802 and 762, which essentially call for Croatia's withdrawal to positions held before the January 22 attack on Krajina and an end to hostilities.

The Croatian Army attack on Krajina resulted in many casualties and heavy destruction.

Press reports said that the co-chairmen had actually diplomatically extended a second invitation to the Krajina Serbs to come to New York for talks, which U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali described as very significant.

The co-chairmen's press spokesman Fred Eckhard also described the talks as very significant on Saturday afternoon in New York. He said that the co-chairmen's talks on Saturday with Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak would continue at the U.N. headquarters and that Serbs from Krajina were expected to arrive in New York once their travelling arrangements had been completed.

There were no reactions at the U.N. headquarters on Sunday to reports that the Krajina Serbs were not coming to the scheduled talks in New York. Diplomats who were reached by telephone said that they would be very surprised if these reports were actually shown to be true.

The diplomats pointed out that Butrus-Ghali, Vance and Owen had brought the crisis caused by the Croatian invasion of Krajina to the U.N. headquarters because they believed that comprehensive political solutions should be sought at the same time for all crises in the territory of former Yugoslavia, as the secretary-general himself said in his latest report to the Security Council.

They also emphasized the importance of the Russian initiative in the U.N. Security Council for the introduction of sanctions against Croatia for refusing to respect repeated U.N. demands to withdraw its armed forces to positions they held before their offensive on Krajina.

It would be very peculiar if Serb representatives from Krajina did not show up in New York at this time since it would be contrary to their evident interests, the diplomats said.

First Round of Talks Unproductive

LD0702195093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 7 Feb 93

[By Vjekoslav Radovic]

[Text] New York, February 7 (TANJUG)—Following several days of painful wrangling on a peaceful solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was quite clear on Sunday [7 February] that the first round of the New York talks failed to produce results and that there would be no signing of the Vance-Owen peace plan.

It was quiet on Sunday at the U.N. headquarters, something those reporters still hoping for a miracle saw as a calm before the storm. The storm could break as early as Monday when Vance and Owen take the Bosnia issue to the U.N. Security Council.

Cyrus Vance and David Owen, the two co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia, were to have met on Sunday for the third time with the representatives of all three warring sides. The Vance and Owen spokesman, Fred Eckhard, said on Saturday he was still hopeful as there was another full day for discussions.

On Sunday, however, it was learned that head of the Moslem delegation Haris Silajdzic, foreign minister in the government of the Bosnia-Hercegovina rump presidency, would not appear for talks and that the two co-chairmen would meet only with Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic and Bosnian Croat Leader Mate Boban on Sunday afternoon.

Silajdzic on Saturday put forth four conditions to continue negotiating, but from his pathetic speech in which he showered a number of new accusations, it remained unclear whether he was leaving the talks.

Although there was no clear statement on this, it [words indistinct] that this was just what was happening.

The NEW YORK TIMES on Sunday published an article by its commenator Leslie Gelb in Sarajevo, citing Deputy Prime Minister of the Bosnian Moslem-Croat Government Zlatko Lagumdzija, who reportedly told him that whoever signed this peace plan would be dead, and not only politically dead.

The Moslem side, encouraged by support from Washington, obviously believes that it stood to "profit" more in the U.N. Security Council, which has so far acted as a prolonged arm of the White House.

This may also be inferred from Lagumdzija's statement that everything was now up to America.

Karadzic Calls Geneva Maps 'Very Bad'

AU0502214093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by Dragan Colovic in New York on 5 February—recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, you have just completed what I assume were important talks with Vance and Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva conference. What did you talk about?

[Karadzic] We talked today a bit about the maps, then about some kind of a transitional body that would act as the government but which we cannot accept as a government; it would be more like a transitional committee that would coordinate the important functions of the three ethnic communities. We have left time until tomorrow to study the problem and to negotiate tomorrow about the transitional body. That was all for today.

[Colovic] You say that you also discussed the maps.

[Karadzic] We discussed the contentious parts of the maps. We again proposed our own methodology, that we should make a list of all the undisputed territories, all those that no one disputes; then a list of territories that are disputed, and then we can see how we can negotiate over those, and make mutual concessions concerning the disputed territories.

[Colovic] Are you satisfied with the talks?

[Karadzic] There was nothing important to be satisfied about or not. The problem is that the basic maps that they proposed, and on which we have to work now, are very bad. They have been done extremely arbitrarily and particularly at the expense of the Serbian people. Now we have to take these maps far more seriously and have them done all over again. If that is not possible, then it is possible to work on them some more but with due respect paid to our arguments. I believe that the conference will be making a mistake if it starts insisting that the maps be taken as definitive. Maps are a question of private property and also a question of democracy. The people have the right to decide whether they will live this way or that.

[Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, the United States supports the Geneva peace process, that is, a political and diplomatic and not a military solution to the conflict in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, but it does not accept some parts of the Vance-Owen plan, particularly the maps.

[Karadzic] Yes, we agree with the United States on that, but we have a totally different approach. Some U.S. circles believe that the Serbs have gotten too much territory, while they completely forget that the Serbs own much more than has been given to them with these maps. It is a question of ownership of territory and they will understand that in the U.S., when we present the thesis on private property and democracy as the solution to the maps. I am convinced that, when the United States fully understands what the crisis in Yugoslavia is all about, it will (?give its consent).

Presents New Maps to Owen, Vance

LD0602180893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Excerpt] New York, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, today offered the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, new maps for the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 provinces which, according to him, are "more viable" and based on economic principles. Karadzic arrived in the United Nations headquarters for his second meeting with the two cochairmen accompanied by Momcilo Krajisnik [president of the Serb Republic Assembly) and Nikola Koljevic [member of the Serb Republic Presidency]. [passage omitted]

Views Territorial Division

LD0602132493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1202 GMT 6 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said in New York that the question of territorial division of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be resolved in such a way as to guarantee peace and stability in the future.

"Political reasons require that the future provincial boundaries bring about a calming of the situation and not a permanent source of future conflicts," Karadzic told Yugoslav reporters at New York's Hyatt hotel.

He also elaborated the principles guiding the Bosnian Serb delegation to the current talks at the U.N. headquarters in New York on the peace plan worked out by the co-chairmen of the Geneva-based peace conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

The plan proposes that Bosnia-Hercegovina—which for the past ten months has been the scene of a civil and religious war involving the local Moslems, Serbs and Croats—be divided into ten autonomous provinces with a weak central government.

"The delineation of boundaries is also connected with the question of respect for democracy," said Karadzic and explained that the population of some disputed areas should decide for themselves in which province they want to live.

"The Serb side insists that the problem of Sarajevo be resolved quickly, separately and without any conditions," he said.

Karadzic went on to say that the only reason why the Moslems had rejected the Serb proposal was that they wanted to profit from the suffering of Sarajevo residents.

In his opinion, a separate settlement of the Sarajevo problem may have chances of succeeding if U.N. officials would take care of the city's supply system, including food, water and electricity distribution.

"Despite the Moslem side's rejection, the Serb side will insist on its proposal in all meetings and talks at the United Nations over the next few days," said Karadzic.

Bosnian Leaders Comment on UN Talks

AU0702201893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Statements by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Haris Silajdzic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Mate Boban, head of Herceg-Bosnia, in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Begin Karadzic recording in English with subtitled Serbo-Croatian translation] The Muslim side is not making negotiations on Sarajevo very easy, so we have proposed that Sarajevo be administered by the United Nations. Since all this package requires some time to be implemented, Sarajevo should not wait for that. The problem of Sarajevo should be resolved immediately and it should be administered by the United Nations. The mayor should be from the United Nations, commissioners in charge of utilities and the delivery of food, and the police administration should be from the United Nations, and the problem of Sarajevo would be resolved within a week. [end recording]

[Begin Silajdzic recording in English with subtitled Serbo-Croatian translation] We basically told them that we have a gun pointed at our head while we speak. Our towns are besieged, and the gun that is pointed at our head must be removed. Heavy artillery must be placed under strict international, physical control. This is the only way to secure conditions for the survival of the civilian population under very severe winter conditions and to secure conditions for talks. [end recording]

[Begin Boban recording] You, too, can guess every new plan by the Serbs. This is the area that they conquered with force. This is not acceptable. [end recording]

FRY's Djukic Assesses UN Talks on Bosnia

AU0702205193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic by Tatjana Lenard in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djukic] The Vance-Owen plan is, of course, not ideal. It is not ideal for the Bosnian Serbs or from our point of view. However, this plan is currently the best all-round plan for regulating the tragic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is so far the most serious effort by the international community and the three Bosnia-Hercegovina sides to reach a lasting and just peace.

[Lenard] What is the role of the United States? So far it has had considerable reservations. In other words, the United States has not fully supported Vance and Owen in this stage.

[Djukic] The prevailing view is that the United States is moving very slowly, but is nevertheless moving in the direction of supporting this plan. Just today, or yesterday, if I am not wrong, it was reported that the United States is in a way making the support conditional upon the consensus of all three sides. If this is correct—do not forget that we are talking about press reports—if this is correct [Djukic repeats himself], it is very important that the Serbian side support this plan. I think that it should be clear as to who should bear responsibility for what could happen if this plan is not realized.

[Lenard] What is the role of Yugoslavia in all this?

[Djukic] You see, Yugoslavia is here in a double or triple role. We are first of all mediators and observers. At the same time, we are one of the concerned parties. We are a concerned party because we signed the Vance plan and because the situations in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are mutually connected.

On the other hand, we are morally, politically, and in every other respect obliged to take care of and offer support to our Serb compatriots who were left outside the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is something that has not been opposed at all. Because of our presence and by me and my aides' participating here, it is, in fact, thought that Yugoslavia demonstrated an interest in being a party in this process, to help and preserve peace on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

UN War Crimes Panel Blames 'All Sides'

LD0502141993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1345 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Geneva, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—President of the U.N. Commission for War Crimes Frits Kalshoven has said that all sides in the former Yugoslavia were responsible for war crimes.

In an interview to TANJUG, Kalshoven, a professor of international humanitarian law at the Leiden University, urged the immediate setting up of an international war crimes court.

The U.N. commission's report is still in its initial stage. When it is done, it will be submitted to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Kalshoven said.

"I have no prejudice about who started the war. That fact actually does not concern me. I am investigating

whether international humanitarian law has been violated in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia", Kalshoven said.

In addition to various sources in the former Yugoslavia, the commission has been using documents on war crimes submitted also by the governments of certain countries, mostly of the United States, Austria and France, as well as international non-governmental organizations like the Helsinki Watch and Amnesty International, Kalshoven said.

In its report submitted a few months ago, the Helsinki Watch accused only Serb leaders of "war crimes", while Amnesty International persistently and biasedly claims that the Serbs bear the greatest responsibility for the atrocities.

These two organizations are "the most important sources of information", Kalshoven said, but failed to explain why his commission gave them priority.

Kalshoven could not say what his statement that "all sides are responsible for war crimes" was based on, but he admitted he trusted the Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch reports the most.

It is unclear what kind of reports from the U.S, French and Austrian governments made Kalshoven confident in their "objectiveness". One should hope they are not the ad hoc statements and politically-inspired reports of former state secretary Lawrence Eagleburger, the current Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock or French Minister for Humanitarian Issues Bernard Kouchner.

These three figures have over the past two years spearheaded the efforts to present the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Serbs and particularly their leaders, as the sole perpetrators not only of war crimes but of the very outbreak of the war without prior investigation or trial.

Russian, Canadian Actions for Bosnia Peace Viewed

LD0602223793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Commentary by Zija Disdarevic]

[Text] Diplomatic activities in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Bosnia-Hercegovina problem have almost daily been assuming new characteristics. Now, along with an expectation that Clinton will reveal the new U.S. stand toward the problem, an initiative by Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney for more active participation by Russian President Yeltsin has come to the focus of attention. Here is a Zija Dizdarevic commentary:

[Dizdarevic] Clinton's intention to use his authority in drawing up a solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina problem and the inclusion of Yeltsin in that process is a fresh manifold quality in the peace efforts. This revolves primarily around the examination of a world topic that no one has raised at the top international level. The establishment of a Washington-Moscow relationship via the mediation of Ottawa at the level of heads of state is a value in itself. The White House needs its Kremlin partner, both because of Russia's real influence and its current disagreement with the European allies who secured Moscow's support for the Vance-Owen plan, but only on paper.

Yeltsin most certainly likes the invitation requesting his direct action, which on this occasion has also led to Russia being recognized as the successor of the former superpower, the USSR. Both sides ought to be considerate toward Europe, particularly Great Britain and France, due to the fact that the old continent has always felt uneasy about the Washington-Moscow dialogue, particularly when primarily European issues are discussed.

Canada entered the diplomatic scene at a crucial moment, suddenly but with a logical basis; namely, the northern neighbor of the U.S. has special relations with the UK—Canada is a member of Commonwealth—while 30 percent of its citizens are of French descent. In this way, Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney has become a completely suitable mediator, who has initiated the establishment of the Clinton-Yeltsin relationship, and who can do a lot for the completion of the triangle with Europe.

Washington's reserved stand on the peace plan drawn up under the auspices of the EC is, to say the least, embarrassing for the European Community. In this connection it can be observed that Clinton has now acknowledged the achievements of the Geneva negotiations, indicating the core of his objections [as heard]. What is important now is to synchronize activities which will bring together crucial international powers in constructive efforts toward reaching an accord with regard to ending the Bosnia-Hercegovina tragedy. This implies that Vance and Owen's concept must be preserved as an outline, and a more acceptable and more just solution found within it.

If all the pieces come together and vain reactions are appeased to the advantage of crucial issues, the chances for progress toward the optimal solution will grow. Namely, a European reaction at the highest state level can be expected in connection with this new situation. If the reaction offers primarily negotiations, the necessary conditions for the immediate work on the peace plan will be created. In all this it is important that none of the crucial international factors has interests to uphold the war option. On the contrary, in this context it seems more important to Russia to stop any further sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, and to contribute toward lifting the existing restrictions imposed upon these aggressor countries, more than what the final fate of Karadzic's aspirations will be.

All in all, this new correlation is much more favorable for us than the restrictive insistence on for or against the Vance-Owen plan. In international bargaining, Bosnia-Hercegovina of course places its hope with the United States. Many things are still uncertain, but a political atmosphere is being created which will make possible the full participation of decisive international authorities in the search for a peace concept and mechanism for its realization. Compromises will be necessary, and we hope that impartiality and justice will finally prevail.

Croatian Shipload of Explosives Intercepted

AU0502170693 Paris AFP in English 1656 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Bari, Italy, Feb 5 (AFP)—A Croatian freighter loaded with explosives was intercepted in the Adriatic early Friday [5 February] by the multi-national fleet charged with enforcing a U.N. embargo on arms to former Yugoslavia, Italian port officials said.

The Vela Luka was intercepted off the Albanian coast by a Belgian naval vessel, the Westdiep, and diverted to Bari, the officials said.

The ship's captain, who said he was carrying a consignment of the powerful industrial explosive tritol, said he had left Durres, in Albania, for Trieste, in northeastern Italy, but officials at Trieste had indicated that they were not expecting the vessel.

Officials said the freighter was owned by a firm registered at Dubrovnik, in Croatia.

For security reasons the Vela Luka, carrying a nine-man crew, was not allowed to berth at Bari, and was anchored around two miles off the coast.

Warships of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Western European Union have been patrolling the Adriatic since July.

Albania's Selami Addresses Council of Europe

AU0602190993 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 6 (ATA)—In the debate of February 3 at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on the massive violence and violations of human rights in the territory of former Yugoslavia, the head of the Albanian delegation, Eduard Selami, also took the floor. The process of changes, which started in the 80s, he said, ended with the destruction of the international structures based on ideological bipolarization. Unfortunately, in some of the Balkan countries communist ideology was replaced by nationalism. What is now occurring in former Yugoslavia is a tragedy and shame for each of us living in this zone. Bloodshed, ethnic cleansing, killings, what we are witnessing and hearing every day from the tragedy of Bosnia-Hercegovina is a great challenge to Europe and its civilization. What is occurring in former Yugoslavia is a brutal violation of every principle of UNO [United Nations Organization] and CSCE. The intolerable price as to the loss of the people's lives and the economic aspect has made the situation in this region ever more difficult.

The situation in Kosovo, Mr. Selami said further on, is growing extremely dangerous. Ethnic cleansing has now become a usual practice. The removal of the Albanians from their homes and bringing in Serbs, who come from various places of former Yugoslavia, continues, violating in this way every legal and human norm. The Serbs have free hand to do everything. Belgrade's repressive policy being applied in Kosovo has converted it into a real prison where the elementary human rights are not recognized, where the majority of the working people are dismissed from work, where schooling in the Albanian language is prevented. Repression against the Albanians in Kosovo has reached its climax and no progress has been made in opening the schools and normalizing the life. The Serb police shootings against the Albanians, which have often caused the killing and wounding of many Albanians have been intensified. All these acts aim at making life impossible in Kosovo.

Sharing the general opinion in the debate that the situation in former Yugoslavia is difficult and that it is not easy to find a way out, Mr. Selami aired Albania's view that it will be more difficult to find it tomorrow, unless the actions undertaken by the international organisations are carried out on time. Each of us is aware of the danger that the conflict might also be extended to other parts of the region, above all to Kosovo. Therefore, Mr. Selami said, the sending of peacekeeping forces also to Kosovo and the control on the Serbs' heavy armaments, will be the first step to normalize the situation and prevent the tragedy staged in former Yugoslavia.

This is not merely a question of morale, but a question of trust in the CSCE principles and other international documents, it is a test for Europe. This problem, which is also related to terrorism and refugees, is a common all-European problem asking for a joint solution.

In conclusion Mr. Selami ensured that Albania is ready, just as until now, to help prevent the spread of war and establish peace in this troubled part of Europe.

UN Representative on Macedonia, Bosnia

PM0502094693 Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Feb 93 p 4

[Report by Elisabeth Kulakowska report: "Mr. Mazowiecki Questions Usefulness of His Mission"]

[Text] Will Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special representative of the UN Human Rights Commission since August 1992, continue his mission? On a brief visit to Paris at the invitation of Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and several deputies, the former Polish prime minister questioned the usefulness of continuing his mandate.

"My mission is very frustrating," he told LE MONDE on Sunday 31 January. "I am deeply aware of the gulf between the growing number of inquiries and the lack of specific results. My task is to make recommendations to the UN Security Council which must make decisions. If I have continued my mission thus far, it is because in Sarajevo and other places I have been able to visit, people have placed their trust in me. They would see my resignation as an admission of failure."

Mr. Mazowiecki has made three tours of former Yugoslavia, the latest of which has just taken him to Macedonia. "I saw representatives of the government, parliament, and the opposition there. I also met with representatives of the Albanians, Turks, Gypsies, Walachians, and Serbs. Aside from the Serbs, all told me they wanted an independent Macedonia. I was able to see the enormous economic problems being experienced by that country because of the suspension of economic agreements with the former Yugoslav republics, the embargo, and Greece's position.

"There is a conflict between Europe's assessment of the danger of the conflict spreading to Macedonia from Kosovo and the failure of international bodies to recognize the Macedonian Republic. From the viewpoint of my mandate, which is to defend human rights, I think Macedonia must be recognized because the most important right is that of living in security." The latest proposal made by France on the name of this republic seems unacceptable to Mr. Mazowiecki who regards a name like "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" as humiliating for this little country.

Moreover, the special representative strongly regretted the lack of cooperation and coordination among the various commissions of inquiry, especially as regards the systematic rape of women in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This lack of cooperation, he pointed out, "has the result of fragmenting our efforts and, ultimately, we are likely to be less and less credible. It is very painful for these women to repeat the story of their torture for each commission of inquiry."

FRY's Djukic Meets French, Russian UN Envoys

LD0602090393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0039 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] New York, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic on Friday met with representatives of U.N. Security Council permanent members—Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee of France and Yuriy Vorontzov of Russia—to discuss the Geneva peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia's aggression on the U.N. Protected Areas in former Yugoslavia.

The two ambassadors condemned the Moslem side in the conflict in Bosnia, saying it was rejecting the agreements that it had earlier accepted. They said the Bosnian Serbs should therefore agree also with the third point of the Vance-Owen peace plan—the maps on Bosnia's territorial division.

The peace plan, proposed by the co-chairmen of the international conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, envisages the division into ten autonomous provinces with a loose central government. The Bosnian Croats accepted all the points of the plan, while the Serbs objected to 20 percent of the proposed division. The Moslems first accepted the consitutional principles for a future Bosnia, but judging by the statements of their representatives in New York, they are now rejecting the plan as unacceptable.

Djukic was informed in detail about Russia's initiative that sanctions be imposed on Croatia which has failed to comply with the U.N. demands to stop its aggression and withdraw its troops to initial positions.

The two ambassadors praised Yugoslavia's attitude in the Geneva talks as well as in the crisis caused by the Croatian aggression.

Berisha Answers Foreign Reporters' Questions

AU0502182293 Tirana ATA in English 1116 GMT 5 Feb 93

["Round Table Talk of President Berisha With Representatives of the Foreign Press"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—Question: Albania is heading towards the West, but it is turned also towards the Islamic countries. Here we may mention its relations with Turkey, or its tense relations with Greece. Does this mean that Albania is now directed to the Islamic countries?

Answer: Albania is an European country for centuries. Albanians are one of the most ancient peoples of the continent. From the economic point of view Albania is outside Europe. If there will be an organization of Catholic countries, Albania will join it as well.

Question: Is Albania making preparations for war?

Answer: We do not make special preparations for war.

Question: Does Albania rely on the Turkish aid?

Answer: We do not rely only on the Turkish aid, but also on international aid.

Question: There are rumors that Albanians of Kosovo are being trained in Albania and that Albania is sending arms in Kosovo.

Answer: I would be rather pleased if you go to the northern part and see every bit of it.

Question: If you are told that camps which train troops exist, will you prohibit them?

Answer: They do not exist.

Question: If they exist, will you prevent them?

Answer: Messieurs, when we say we are for the peaceful solution of the problem, we shall follow it. If they start the war, we shall defend ourselves. We do not pursue a double-faced policy.

Question: If the situation in Kosovo becomes stable, what is your opinion about Great Albania?

Answer: First, the Albanians are not for the change of borders through violence. This is our policy. We want the national and human rights of the Albanians, wherever they are, to be observed.

Question: The danger from Serbia exists and, naturally, you rely on some certain states rather than on others. Is Turkey the state you mostly rely on?

Answer: It is true that different relations exist between Albania and Turkey in which we might also include blood relations.

Concerning Greece, our opinion is: Greece is a friendly and neighbouring state with a natural friendship. But, unfortunately it maintains relations and alliance with Belgrade. Nevertheless, I am convinced it will use this alliance to lower the tension. The Greek democratic government cannot make compromise with a dictatorship.

Question: What can you say about the relations with Macedonia?

Answer: The relations with Macedonia are good. We are in favour of its independence and stability. We consider Macedonia's independence as a very important factor in halting the war in the Balkans and the Macedonian state should be recognized by the world.

Question: What can you say about the Law on the Press?

Answer: As regards the press, I think it is quite free. There are many parties and independent newspapers and there is no law on the press. I am against the law on the press. The parliament is currently dealing with the drafting of the law on the press.

Question: Are the reporters persecuted for what they write?

Answer: Absolutely not. Never have I accused any reporter for what he has written, and will never accuse him. I think there is place for tolerance. But if a reporter offends someone, the latter can bring the reporter to court.

Question: Do you think Macedonia will help or prevent Albania from rendering help to Kosovo?

Answer: I well bear in mind the Serb scenario. It has similar intentions against Kosovo and Macedonia.

Serbian Border Patrol Kills 3 Albanian Nationals

LD0602100493 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 6 (ATA)—On February 4, at about 1825 in the sectors of the border outposts 04/10, on the left hand side of Qafe Morina, several meters far from the Albanian state border, the Serbian Border Patrol killed barbarously three Albanian nationals: Ardian Ram Ibro, Mehmet Ram Ibro and Perparim Man Iberhasa, the Ministry of Defence reports.

From the investigation in the spot, it comes out that the assassination is made at a very near distance, with a volley of shots. Each of the victims has been shot in the chest, one has also been shot at the back. This painful act is a continuation of the Serbian aggressive policy, which runs counter to all international norms of the human rights and which influences in the aggravation of the situation in the border and the region.

Greek Police Open Fire, Return Emigrants

AU0502142093 Tirana ATA in English 1308 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—Two days ago, the Greek patrolling units opened fire at a distance against a group of Albanians in the Greek territory, gravely

wounding one of them. There is not any report on the fate of the wounded, members of the Albanian group said.

The first 8 buses of the Greek police arrived in the border point of Kakavije on February, with about 400 Albanian emigrants employed in Greece. Many of them said that the Greek minister of the public order declared on TV he was going to send back to their country all the Albanians, describing them as the main factor contributing to the growth of criminality in Greece.

The Greek police are forcefully expelling all those Albanians who have been employed in Greece, even those who have been employed there for two years, without giving them time to get even their belongings. A minority of Albanian emigrants with previous permission from the Greek police now have had their documents, passports with visas torn. These documents were considered correct before. The emigrants who were returned home said: Tuesdays and Fridays are the days when the Greek police pursue the Albanians in Greece.

1,310 Emigrants Deported

AU0502211593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Report by Petrit Beqiri from Gjirokaster]

[Text] Last week, the Greek side sent 1,310 Albanian refugees back to the Kakavije border point. As of 1200 today, 350 more persons were deported.

While talking with the refugees, we learned that there were no cases of mistreatment, but that they were taken directly from their places of work or homes and that is why they have left their money, clothes, and other personal documents there. It is being said that emigrants are being rounded up in the main cities and that they will be deported en masse.

It has been very difficult to send these persons to dwelling places in our country. The lack of transportation has left them in the streets and has resulted in gatherings at Cerciz Square in Gjirokaster, often times without shelter and food. In a way, they remain refugees even in their own country. It should also be said that Kakavije has not been able to communicate by phone for some time now. So, for every problem one must contact the public order departments through two-way radios.

Kopliku Contacts Greek Ambassador

AU0602200993 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Regarding the troublesome operation undertaken by Greek police authorities to deport Albanian refugees, the spokesman for the Public Order Ministry reports that Mr. Bashkim Kopliku, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of public order, on 5 February contacted the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece in Tirana, Mr. Kristo Spalikis. Kopliku requested him to urgently meet with the Greek public order minister to discuss and normalize the situation. The Greek ambassador promised to intervene and hold the requested meeting.

Deportation of Emigrants Protested

AU0702161393 Tirana ATA in English 1311 GMT 7 Feb 93

["Report of the Foreign Ministry for the ATA"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 7 (ATA)—The statement by the Greek minister of public order for deporting the Albanian asylum-seekers from Greece caused concern among the Albanian public opinion.

This action is launched at a time when Albania and Greece develop well round relations of good neighbourhood. These relations are also based on the normal historic relations between the two peoples. Senior personalities of the two states have exchanged visits and contacts in the framework of the good bilateral relations, which contribute to their promotion. This campaign is launched after the recent visit of the speaker of the Albanian parliament, Mr. Pjeter Arbnori to Greece, during which the two parties observed the extension of good mutual relations between the two countries. This surprised the all national opinion, because it takes place at a time when preparations were being made for the visit of the Albanian Premier Aleksander Meksi to Greece. The latter sent a letter to Mr. Mitsotakis concerning this issue and the Albanian-Greek relations in general. Apart from this it occurs at a time when on the proposal of the Albanian party, the Greek party agreed to create a joint Albanian-Greek Commission concerning the issue of Albanian refugees.

Because of this and considering the negative impact of the deportation of the Albanian refugees, who have gone to Greece because of economic needs, we are of the opinion that such action run counter to the spirit of understanding and cooperation between the two countries.

Such an action also runs counter to the European convention standards on the human rights, which flatly bans foreigners' deportation en masse.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is doing its best through diplomatic means to make the Albanian-Greek Joint Commission start working and settle the problem of refugees.

At the same time the Ministries of Public Order of the two countries are trying to arrange high level contacts concerning this issue.

We hope this unilateral and hasty action will stop and just as until now, our two neighbouring peoples will witness further development of good Albanian-Greek relations, which are a valuable contribution to the peace and stability in the Balkans.

Greek Paper Slanders on Ministry Statements Denied

AU0702171193 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Report on RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE article: "Megalomania Does Not Serve Friendship"]

[Text] Tirana, February 7 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE carries the reply of reporter Filip Cakuli to the article printed in the Greek newspaper ELEFTHEROS TIPOS dated January 29. This article ironically says among the other things that the Albanians are teaching lessons to the democracy of Greece. The article refers to a statement of the Albanian Foreign Ministry in regard a draft law on the relations of the state with the church in Albania, the author writes.

It's a pity, says the author of the article, that such a leading and serious Greek newspaper does not look at things from a realistic viewpoint, but prejudices the neighbours who are as ancient as the Greeks. The jargon is wretched, the megalomania pervading the whole article is so transparent.

First of all, I do not realize what's the connection of the Greek Foreign Ministry with the draft laws submitted to the Albanian parliament for discussion and approval. As far as we know, it is not incumbent upon our government to consult the Greek Foreign Ministry before submitting the laws to the parliament. At least we find this rule in no international act. Secondly, in my opinion there is no need that the Greek Foreign Ministry discuss the agenda of the proceedings of our parliament and then submit it to Albanian deputies. Thirdly, in case our neighbours, who have been close to us at hard times, have observed violation of human rights, they can tell us in the framework of the friendly relations and good neighbourliness, they can even make suggestions, can advise us, or they can even protest.

But in no way can they prejudice a not yet performed action and draft laws which have not yet passed as laws. Nevertheless suppose the Greek Foreign Ministry is right to make such a statement. Then why does the reply of the Albanian Foreign Ministry seem so extraordinary to it?

It is clear that at the stage Albania is experiencing, it needs to learn from the civilized world, the neighbours with whom many things bind us. But Albania cannot tolerate the interference in its own affairs, says the author in closing.

Berisha, NATO Experts Discuss Cooperation

AU0502153393 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—On February 4 afternoon, the president of the Republic met with the NATO experts delegation headed by the Brigade General Strichio. The delegation members presented to President Berisha their opinion on the Army's present situation and the ways to strengthen cooperation in the military field between Albania and NATO.

President Berisha aired his readiness to support the reform in the Army, restricting the military expenditures without reducing the defence capacity. We are ready to further promote the military cooperation both with NATO and some of its member countries, he said.

Zhulali, Delegation Attend Military Exercise

AU0502153593 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—A military training in one of the military units in Tirana was also attended by the Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali, other senior cadres of the Albanian Army, as well as by the military NATO delegation led by the Brigade General Sturchio. Invited to attend this military training were also the military attaches of Turkey, the United States, Greece, and Italy.

The effectives of this military unit made various variants of their military training. At the end they met with the NATO delegation. The Albanian minister of defence said that we have chosen the road of cooperation with the NATO structures. Albania has declared that NATO is the only alliance it will take part in.

On his part, the leader of the military delegation of NATO expressed his satisfaction for the training he attended and valued the level of the Albanian soldiers and officers. Albania is the first NATO nonmember country with which NATO is cooperating, he said. NATO may render intellectual aid, in the mean time it will inform its members to see the best possible ways of helping Albania.

NATO Delegation Leaves

AU0602182193 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 6 (ATA)—The delegation of the NATO experts led by Brigade General Sturchio left Albania on February 5. During its stay in Tirana, the delegation had talks in the General Staff, it visited military units and the Military Academy. The NATO experts also attended a military training through which they saw closely the level of the training and the living conditions of the Albanian soldiers.

They exchanged opinions and materialized the needs of the Albanian Army for assistance in the conditions of its reformation and restructuring.

Russian Envoy Comments on Military Ties, FRY

AU0502151493 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Feb 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev by Dyanko Shishkov; place and date not given: "In Relations Between Democratic Countries, Military Cooperation Serves No Doctrines"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Shishkov] How do you assess the new state of Bulgarian-Russian military cooperation?

[Avdeyev] Until recently, military cooperation between our countries took place under the influence of political factors, to which the two opposed military-political blocs slavishly conformed. Both our countries were members of the Warsaw Pact, and this determined the framework of military cooperation between the former Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

Now the political realities are quite different, and military cooperation constitutes one element of the overall political cooperation between democratic states. Russia has immensely expanded its contacts, and we now cooperate with the armies of the United States, France, and Germany. The commander in chief of the NATO forces recently paid a visit to Moscow. We reached accords with him of a kind that we could not have dreamed of previously—on joint exercises, the training of Russian officers in U.S. military schools, and vice versa. However, this does not mean that we are reducing our cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe. The military ties between Bulgaria and Russia have roots in past history, and we must develop these good traditions. A positive example of this is the signing of the agreement between the two countries' Defense Ministries, an agreement that will be extended every year by specific plans. The negotiations on the military property of the former Warsaw Pact located on Bulgarian territory have gone extremely well, and part of this property has been handed over to the Bulgarian Army. I am convinced that the present visit of Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov to Moscow will be a further step in extending military cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Shishkov] As a professional observer, you are directly watching the situation in the Balkans, which is steadily heating up.

[Avdeyev] We are concerned, to put it mildly. Like other European and non-European countries, we are really alarmed by the situation in the Balkans. Russia lies in a geographic region directly bordering the Balkans, so that tension in any part of the Balkans directly affects Russian interests. Instability in the Balkans seriously damages the security of the whole of Europe and affects military, political, and economic interests on the continent.

The present war in the former Yugoslavia is inflicting much harm, predominantly to Balkan economic and political stability. Russia is exerting itself to the maximum to halt the bloodshed by means of negotiating sensible solutions. I note with pleasure that Bulgaria's and Russia's views on the Balkan situation practically coincide. Both countries agree that the hotbed of tension can only be extinguished by negotiations, but if these are unsuccessful, it will be necessary to take decisive measures, including military sanctions within the UN framework.

[Shishkov] Following the universal approval with which the world greeted the signing of the START-2 Treaty, there has recently been some talk about certain "dissident thinking" on the part of Russian diplomacy. I am thinking of your disassociation from the actions in Iraq, and especially your attitude to Krajina....

[Avdeyev] The aim of our diplomacy is to eliminate hotbeds of tension. We want to act pragmatically, taking account of the realities. The important thing at the moment is to put out the fire in Bosnia and Hercegovina. The three parties to the bloodshed must be made clearly aware of the determination of the international community to put a stop to all aggressive and extremist actions. When the Bosnian Serbs were responsible for bloodshed, we adopted a categorical position and took part in all the international actions to resolve the problem. We now see that, despite the efforts of the United Nations, despite the appeals made by very many countries, the Croatians have sharply stepped up their military operations in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Accordingly, we raised the question of their responsibility and proposed that the United Nations should adopt a resolution that condemns the Croatians as well as the Serbs, and imposes sanctions on them as well. Our actions are determined not by our sympathies for one or the other side, but by realism and our interest in seeing the earliest possible end to the conflict. Russia will condemn each of the parties that starts to sabotage the negotiations now or in the future, no matter whether they are Serbs, Bosnians, Croatians, or Muslims. [passage omitted]

Deputy Warns Nation Becoming 'Banana Republic'

AU0702205793 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 30 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Aleksandur Tomov, National Assembly deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, and member of the BSP Supreme Council, by Konstantsa Ancheva; place and date not given: "We Are One Step Away From a Banana Republic"]

[Excerpt] [Ancheva] Mr. Tomov, the political situation in the country is taking a very critical turn. One scandal appears after another. We started off with misunderstandings with the IMF, and this is being followed by the scandalous affair of the Bulgarian National Bank governor.

[Tomov] I fear what will become of our country if the weakness of the executive power continues and if the

members of the government continue to serve as obedient tools of private interests. Such phenomena will be ruinous for the state because with such a structure, no civic society can exist. A terrible thing is happening. The state is entering the position of a banana republic or, if you like, a tomato republic—a country dominated by individual egoistic interests in which no general progress takes place. Such countries usually have far higher rates of inflation than the normal European level and excessive price rises. I am worried by the exchange rate of the lev to the dollar because the instability of the lev, especially in relation to the major foreign currencies, is ideal for persons who want to make a lot of money in a short time.

[Ancheva] How can we avoid becoming a tomato republic?

[Tomov] The chief condition at the moment is to retain Professor Vulchev in his post of Bulgarian National Bank [BNB] governor and make major changes in the membership of the BNB board, especially among the people who acted against him in such a dishonorable manner. From the viewpoint of longer-term strategy, Bulgaria must stabilize its political structures within the next year and a half. In the state in which the major parties find themselves at the moment, they are incapable of coping in real terms with the uncontrolled economic interests. A massive process of preparing for privatization is under way that will turn a certain group of Bulgarians into gods. However, the planned privatization will not go far enough.

[Ancheva] Are you prepared to name these people?

[Tomov] I believe that society already knows their names, but I do not want to commit myself just now, and for a very simple reason. I like to deal with facts that are 100-percent true, especially where personalities are concerned. You will not find a single politician whose name I have blackened. I criticize events, facts, and assessments, and think that this is the right style in politics: If you want to make accusations, you should be prepared to face a court.

However, what we can say at the moment is that uncontrolled interests are appearing from below.

[Ancheva] Are these not evident from certain actions taken by the government?

[Tomov] This may be so, but I will make my assessment when I see the budget, when I see how it balances the figures. For the time being, I only hear comments and gossip. Unfortunately, in Bulgarian sociopolitical life a large part of the information on this subject is pure falsification. Accordingly, when the truth is told on some occasion, no one believes it because it is one truth among a hundred lies. What is this truth? It is that during the past 10 months or so, the corruption in our state administration has developed like an avalanche.

There is no stability in the state structures. Hiding behind their weakness and problems, some people are doing superb business. Immense amounts of corn have been exported, and now there is not enough to feed the few remaining farm animals. The state is now beginning to import corn and sell it at very high prices, causing internal price inflation. Someone dealt us a major blow by exporting the corn, and now someone else is dealing a further blow by importing it. The end result is that a small group have feathered their nests, while everyone else has suffered. The same thing is happening with the prices of milk, farm animals, and metals. We both export metals and import them. This is the sort of thing that the state can easily control by duties and all the other economic regulators, but it is not doing it. What is more, no one wants to commit himself to dealing with these matters, and these matters are obviously a public scandal. [passage omitted]

Air Force Chief Denies 'High Level of Alert'

AU0602171493 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 2 Feb 93 p 2

[Emil Mildov report]

[Text] "The Air Force has received no special instructions to maintain a high level of alert," Lieutenant General Mikho Mikhov, commander of the Bulgarian Air Force, informed KONTINENT. The recent movements of the Serbian barge convoys along the Danube River have been analyzed by the Defense Ministry and supreme state organs. The situation is clear as day and all decisions were publicized. General Mikhov stressed that the command posts and headquarters of the Air Force have no information on any violations of our borders by foreign aircraft. Recently Romanian combat aircraft have been making more frequent routine flights, but there are no grounds for believing that this activity is more than usual.

The KONTINENT team has learned that last year Bulgarian military pilots completed 40-50 training flights each to keep themselves in good form, whereas Greek and Turkish pilots put in three to four times as many flying hours. We have no money for fuel, and a fighter gulps 3 tonnes of fuel in 12 minutes. Due to the lack of spare parts, 25 percent of aircraft and helicopters are grounded at the moment.

First Deputy Defense Minister Grigor Khandzhiev pointed out that everything depends on finances. He said that the Defense Ministry has drafted a short-term program to meet the Army's most immediate needs, and this will be included in the new national budget.

Mr. Khandzhiev and General Mikhov took part in the celebrations at Dobroslavtsi Air Base to mark the 45th anniversary of the formation of the 14th Air Transport Regiment.

DPS Leader Dogan Views Balkan Policy

AU0502202393 Sofia BTA in English 1717 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 5 (BTA)—While observing active neutrality, Bulgaria should take a firm attitude towards specific values in the Balkans and the conflicts in the region, including developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), told BTA today. Bulgaria's geostrategic position in the heart of the Balkans has drawn the attention of many countries, obviously, there is a struggle for influence and it would be in the interest of national security to issue a declaration, calling on the great powers to intervene more actively, not only through UN declarations and impartial observation of developments in the region, Ahmed Dogan said. The DPS is preparing a declaration on Bulgaria's Balkan policy, which will be submitted for debates and probably for a vote in parliament early next week, Dogan said.

Speaking about a forthcoming visit of Turkish President Turgut Ozal to Bulgaria, Ahmed Dogan said it would throw light on the current situation in the Balkans. "I think it will throw light on the political realities and their protection or, if necessary, on their revision," said Ahmed Dogan. According to him, it would be natural for the two presidents to discuss Bulgaria's attitude to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Turkish Party Members Want To Fight in Bosnia

AU0702191693 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Sliven, February 7 (BTA)—At its session here today the leadership of the unregistered Turkish Democratic Party adopted a declaration on the events in the former Yugoslavia expressing concern over the bloodshed there and stating that "many members and followers of the party wish to fight in defence of their Muslim brothers and of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The document, submitted to the BTA correspondent's office in Sliven, "calls on the United Nations and the great powers to carry out a military intervention on the basis of the UN resolution." The declaration claims that the mission of Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen is to the detriment of the Muslims who have become victims of Serbian chauvinism and its policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide.

At its regular session today the leadership of the Turkish Democratic Party discussed the additional protocol to the European Human Rights Convention which, according to the party's leader Adem Kenan, lifted all obstacles before the party's registration. The Turkish Democratic Party intends to revise its programme in the spirit of the new document.

President Zhelev Dismisses Generals From Army

AU0702172693 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Feb 93 p 1

[Text] In accordance with a proposal made by Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, the Council of Ministers adopted and submitted a proposal for the following personnel changes to be made in the Defense Ministry to Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria and supreme commander in chief:

By decree of the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, on the basis of Article 18, Paragraph C, of the Law on General Military Service in the Republic of Bulgaria, and in connection with Article 100, Paragraph 2, of the Bulgarian Constitution, and with Article 13, Paragraph E, and Article 18, Paragraph 2 of the Law on General Military Service, Yordan Zhekov Mutafchiev, chief inspector of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria, is released from active military service and placed at the disposal of the minister of foreign affairs.

By decree of the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, the following are relieved of their posts as of 1 February 1993 and released from active military service after expiry of the established period during which they remain under orders:

Lieutenant General Mikhail Stoyanov Yovchev, chief inspector of the forces of other ministries and government departments and of the Civil Defense, serving in the Inspectorate of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria;

Lieutenant General Engineer Iliya Georgiev Sinapov, chief inspector of the Air Force in the Inspectorate of the Bulgarian Armed Forces;

Vice Admiral Engineer Dimitur Nikolov Pavlov, chief inspector of the Navy in the Inspectorate of the Bulgarian Armed Forces; and

Major General Panto Ivanov Pantev, chief inspector of the Ground Forces in the Inspectorate of the Bulgarian Armed Forces.

By decree of the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, the following are released from active military service:

Major General Dimitur Yordanov Achev, chief of the Office of the Chief Inspector of the Armed Forces in the Inspectorate of the Bulgarian Armed Forces; and

Major General Marin Tsakov Marinov, former chief of the Military Office of the Defense Minister.

By decree of the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, is promoted to the rank of Army General.

By decree of the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, Colonel Stoyan Ignatov Tsonkov, chief of the Politics

and Security Department at the Defense Ministry, is promoted to the rank of Major General.

State Airline Preparing for Privatization

AU0702185793 Sofia BTA in English 1825 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—The Balkan Bulgarian Airlines Company [Balkanair] will probably be privatized by the end of August, its executive director, Mr. Kostadin Botev, believes.

The marketing stage of the privatization project started in January. As much as 110 potential partners have received general information and Mr. Botev believes that concrete negotiations with a narrower circle of selected interested air companies or other banking and financial institutions may start in April. Contacts with different partners have reached different stages. Confidentiality agreements, by which potential buyers guarantee that they will not spread information concerning Balkanair, are now being signed with some of them. Others have already received the information memorandum containing the entire operative information of Balkan Inc. as well as a financial analysis of the past two years and the strategy of the development of Balkanair in the next five years.

Balkan Bulgarian Airlines has been preparing for privatization for more than two years. The restructuring of its civil aviation activities began already in 1991 with the aim of bringing them in line with those of its international rivals. This was followed by an analysis and financial assessment carried out by the U.S. Ernst-Young Company together with officials of the company.

At present the statutory capital of Balkan amounts to 1,660 billion leva, the nominal value of one share being 1,000 leva. The privatization project provides for the sale of up to 60 percent of the total issued share capital. Foreign investors will acquire up to 49 percent of the company's shares and up to 20 percent will be offered to Balkan employees who will enjoy 50 percent concessions. Under a decision of the government the state will retain control over 40 percent of the company's equity. These percentages are not final and only the ceilings will be fixed.

The privatization project provides for the preservation of the national status of the air company. Balkanair has been licensed to fly to over 64 destinations throughout the world and will be granted a 15-year national carrier concession.

But how will Balkanair retain its national status if foreign capital acquires the control package of shares? According to the Balkanair executive director and the executive director of the privatization agency—Mr. Aleksandur Bozhkov, this problem can be settled in the statutes of the future privatized air company. Through a legal mechanism the state will retain its right to a decisive vote in the taking of strategic decisions. Balkanair is now being consulted by the most prestigious companies in the world—S.G. Warburg and Co Ltd., Ernst-Young, Skadden, Arps, Slate and Sh.E.

"We are offering foreign companies a potential nine million-strong market, scheduled services to Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union, to the Balkan Peninsula and the Middle East," Mr. Botev said. The fact that Balkanair has been included in the peak hour landing schedules of large international airports is also important.

Balkanair performs scheduled international services to 64 destinations in Europe, Asia, Africa and America and successfully ended 1992, which was a bad year for civil aviation worldwide. Balkanair's passenger and freight traffic went up by 30 percent from 1991. The share of charter flights exceeded 40 percent and is expected to go up by 16 percent in 1993.

Balkanair employs 1,200 highly qualified engineers and technicians. At the same time its working wage expenditures are exceptionally low by world standards.

Over a brief period of time, Balkanair updated its fleet with three Boeing 737, two Boeing 767-200 and four Airbus A-320. According to Mr. Botev, the company has a numerous fleet of TU [Tupolev], IL Ilyushin], AN [Antonov] and Yak [Yakovlev] aircraft.

According to international experts, Balkanair has several indisputable advantages which will attract investors. One of them is Bulgaria's and Sofia's exceptionally favourable geographical location at the crossroads of three continents. This provides potential access to regional markets in the former Soviet Union, the Balkan Peninsula and the Middle East.

Low fares and convenient transfer possibilities are among Balkanair's other advantages. They make it a preferred carrier from Asia and Africa to Europe and North America.

Bulgaria has considerable tourist and business potentials. It has a lot to offer to tourists from all parts of the world. Sofia is also a convenient transfer point in the quickly expanding European long-distance tourism.

According to Mr. Botev, the priorities of Balkanair after its privatization will be: Innovation of its fleet, technological and management know-how and perfection of its marketing, information and communication systems. Foreign investors may rely on the professional cooperation of Balkanair.

Report Views 1992 Budget Deficit

AU0802113893 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 3 Feb 93 pp 1, 13

[24 CHASA staff report: "State Was 5 Billion in the Red in 1992"]

[Text] Finance experts have said that the state has spent 5 billion leva more than parliament allowed in the 1992 budget bill.

According to some experts, the budget deficit has passed 16 billion leva. Others even think that the real deficit has gone over 20 billion leva, but stress that this has been concealed by various extrabudgetary funds, which proliferated under Minister Kostov.

According to recent bank information, the difference between revenue and expenditure is 11.722 billion leva, despite the fact that parliament allowed for a deficit of only 11.018 [billion]. The budget collected a smaller than expected amount from turnover and income taxes. The municipalities received interest-free social security loans. Because of this alone, the deficit exceeded the legally established amount of the deficit by 704 million leva.

In addition, the Ministry of Finance has not paid interest to the tune of 2.8 billion leva to the central bank. When added to the capital this amount will surpass 3 billion leva. This also increases the deficit.

The ministry has saved 1.343 billion leva from the envisaged payments to foreign creditors. The law requested the ministry to pay 2.961 billion leva, and the entire amount was guaranteed by the Bulgarian National Bank. However, the real amount envisaged was 1.618 billion leva. Some 1.343 billion leva more than envisaged was spent on other patching up jobs in the country.

The Ministry of Finance also owes the central bank 1.5 billion leva for a temporary loan received last year. If this amount is not received, it will turn into a long-range direct loan, and this will also increase the deficit.

The final balance has not been drawn up yet, but it appears certain that the National Assembly members will have to increase the 1992 deficit in order to legalize the excessive spending of the government, the experts said. According to them, the amount in question conclusively destroys the claim of Filip Dimitrov and Ivan Kostov to have achieved financial stabilization. On the contrary, the 5 billion leva deficit has poured oil on the fire of inflation.

The state budget is in deficit even without taking into account the unpaid interest. Total revenue amounts to 39.584 billion leva, 4.540 billion leva less than what the law envisaged. Expenditure amounted to 51.307 billion leva—1.986 billion leva less than parliament envisaged.

Agriculture Minister Sets Forth New Policy

AU0502162193 Sofia BTA in English 1413 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 5 (BTA)—Agriculture may become a major economic branch if its debts are transformed into public ones and if a system is set up to credit the agricultural activities of private farms and cooperatives at a preferential interest rate, Mr. Georgi Tanev, minister of agriculture, told parliament today. He set forth the agricultural policy of the government.

The concrete measures envisaged by the government for invigorating agriculture are aimed at stepping up the restitution of land within its real boundaries. According to Mr. Tanev, 50 percent of the arable land should be returned to its owners by the end of this year. The government also plans to establish a land market, to deregulate the prices of all agricultural products, to perfect import and export regulations, and to provide tax concessions to private farmers and cooperatives.

Agricultural Minister Tanev believes that it is necessary to set up organizations providing free consultations to the new farmers and to establish complete freedom in the formation of the various cooperatives and organizations provided for by the law, to provide credit concessions to farms and cooperatives, and to lift export bans on food products, which would also facilitate the work of the private farmers. The encouragement of the development of the food processing industry and of the home market may also help invigorate agriculture, according to Mr. Tanev.

Trade Union Leader on Relations With Podkrepa

AU0802091593 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 1 Feb 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Prof. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, KNSP, by Penka Lazarova; place and date not given: "People Are Not Inclined To Make Sacrifices Without Guarantees"]

[Excerpts] [Lazarova] Mr. Petkov, are you constantly comparing the two trade union centers, Podkrepa and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB]?

[Petkov] Certainly, this is part of my everyday life. From the very first day I entered this building, I have always been trying to convince my colleagues that Podkrepa should be our mirror. One of the conditions I made in taking over this job was that all kinds of hostile actions against Podkrepa should be canceled. I was waiting for the right time to show in which respect the other trade union is superior to us, and where it is mistaken. I tried to persuade my fellow workers that Podkrepa has one strategic advantage compared with us—namely that it started as an alternative to the former totalitarian trade unions.

Apart from tactics, competition, and emotional reactions (I have sometimes been angry with Mr. Trenchev), my feelings for Podkrepa are inspired by sincere friendship.

[Lazarova] Was the development of KNSB longer and more difficult?

[Petkov] It was more complicated. Podkrepa's development was more straightforward, and they accepted the risk of creating an alternative body. The greatest credit earned by Dr. Trenchev and his entourage was not so much related to trade unionism as to the political act of resisting the old system. Dr. Trenchev had the opportunity to start from zero, to select his team, and to choose the best methods of building up his organization.

On the other hand, I was obliged to fight on several fronts: Against the remnants of the old trade union functionaries, against attempts to revive the dictatorship of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], against the skepticism about whether an old structure can be reformed. To my greatest satisfaction, the KNSB is the first trade union in Eastern Europe today which proposes a model of a reformed structure inherited from the communist era.

[Lazarova] The two trade unions have repeatedly been accused of drawing closer together for conspiratorial purposes. How would you comment on your own statement that "in an emergency I would advocate joint actions and even the merging of the two trade union organizations?"

[Petkov] It is still my conviction that a consistent anti-trade union policy has been conducted in Bulgaria since the end of 1991. I was informed even by people from Filip Dimitrov's inner circle that a special group was in charge of working on a specially drafted plan. The attacks were launched in several directions, such as depriving the trade unions of material and financial resources, curtailing their rights and freedoms and, last but not least, persecuting and humiliating individual trade union leaders. In the summer of 1992, our existence was genuinely threatened, and on that occasion I declared that if the limits of tolerance were transgressed, a merger would be our only means of self-defense. Reality and our peculiar circumstances were the reasons for our rapprochement rather than some secret plots to build subversive mafia structures.

[Lazarova] Are you still facing the problem of merging?

[Petkov] I do not think that there are any prerequisites or any necessity for this. It is my conviction that a national trade union center should be established in the future. [passage omitted]

[Lazarova] Would you commit yourself to a forecast of the present cabinet's future on the basis of your one-month contacts with it?

[Petkov] The government has managed to overcome its first obstacle—it has kept relations with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank intact—and it has fair chances of signing a new agreement with those institutions. Nevertheless, it is still facing its most difficult task—namely to fulfill its promise on a substantial cost of living adjustment. The parameters of the budget year are already known, and the situation appears extremely difficult. Parliament, the trade unions, and the citizens should now be persuaded that sacrifices are called for. The cabinet is confronted with the dilemma of liberalizing prices at one stroke or in stages. It would be no disgrace for the government if it refused to assume the sole responsibility in the case that it cannot gain the support of parliament.

[Lazarova] How would you, in your turn, explain your eventual support for the government's policy to your members?

[Petkov] This is a difficult task, but so far both the KNSB and Podkrepa have been able to cope with such situations. It usually helps to explain to people what would happen within a year to their wages and to the price situation if we were to raise optimal demands at this stage. It is, however, true that people today are less inclined to make sacrifices without the appropriate guarantees. Hence the situation of our trade union organizations is far more difficult than it was two years ago.

German Foreign Minister Kinkel Arrives on Visit

LD0502101193 Hamburg DPA in German 0920 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Prague (DPA)—German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel arrived in the Czech capital Prague today for a brief visit. Kinkel will attend this afternoon's official opening of the Goethe Institute. The institute has been involved in the expansion of cultural relations between Germany and the Czech Republic for the past two years. Prior to that Kinkel is to meet President Vaclav Havel, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, and his counterpart Josef Zieleniec.

Observers say they believe the talks will center on the amendment to the German asylum law and its implications for the Czech Republic. The government in Prague has for the time being refused to sign a German-Czech agreement on returning refugees.

Meets With Zieleniec

LD0502142893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Olga Jerabkova is on the line from Cernin Palace to report on a meeting between journalists and Czech Foreign Affairs Minister Josef Zieleniec, who has held talks with Klaus Kinkel, the chief of German diplomacy.

[Jerabkova] Minister Zieleniec said that an entire package of problems that exist between our countries was discussed. First and foremost was the issue of asylum seekers rejected in Germany and transferred to the so-called safe countries and to their countries of origin. Minister Zieleniec emphasized that this is a technical, as well as a political problem. What we do not want is a new iron curtain to be created on our western or our eastern border. We want to involve all countries affected by the asylum seekers' issue in this process.

According to Minister Zieleniec it would be appropriate to convene a meeting of foreign and interior ministers of the countries involved and to agree on a joint course of action with them.

Also discussed was the so-called Sudeten German issue. Minister Zieleniec stressed that Germany should consider the issue of compensation to our victims of fascism. Otherwise, we continue to regard the Sudeten Germans' demand for the return of their assets as one of many partial issues of our mutual relations.

On behalf of Germany, Klaus Kinkel expressed a willingness to support the Czech Republic's efforts in its gradual joining of European structures.

Kinkel is having talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus now. Later he is expected at Prague Castle, where he is due to meet President Vaclav Havel.

Zieleniec on Refugee Problem

LD0502182193 Prague CTK in English 1611 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 5 (CTK)—Germany realises that it cannot solve the refugee problem unilaterally, by changing its asylum legislation, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said after meeting with his German counterpart in Prague today. Kinkel is currently on a one-day working visit to the Czech Republic.

Zieleniec stressed that the Czech Republic refuses to accept persons who were denied asylum in Germany unless it is sure that they will be taken over by other states via which they came to the Czech Republic.

On April 1, Germany is to start implementing amended legislation on refugees, aimed to curb their influx and to reduce the number of those who have already been on its territory.

During his talks with Kinkel, Zieleniec pushed for a meeting of the foreign ministers of third safe countries, or the Czech Republic, Poland, Austria and Switzerland. These are the states to which the unsuccessful applicants for asylum should be expelled.

At the meeting a policy should be agreed upon ensuring the passage of the expellees from Germany to their original countries, Zieleniec said.

The foreign ministers should tackle the political aspect of the problem, while interior ministers would deal with the technical side, Zieleniec added.

Agreement Hits Linguistic Problems

LD0502185393 Prague CTK in English 1626 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 5 (CTK)—So far the Czech-German agreement on across-border relations has not been concluded because of the two countries' different stands on which language should be used for the names of villages situated along the border.

Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec told journalists after his meeting with his German counterpart Klaus Kinkel that in the German version of the agreement German names could be used, while Czech names can appear in the Czech version.

It is not clear if the German wording of the document will use the term grenze (border), as the 1992 Czechoslovak-German treaty does, or staatsgrenze (state border), Zieleniec said. According to experts, the two expressions are synonyms in German, he added.

Kinkel arrived today in Prague for a one-day visit.

German Issue 'Must Not Burden Relations'

LD0502184193 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 5 (CTK)—German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said in Prague today that the Sudeten German issue must not burden relations between the Czech Republic and Germany.

The Sudeten German problem does play a certain role in Germany's home policy and this should not be denied. But being Germany's foreign minister, I am not interested in inflating this troublesome theme, Kinkel said at a press conference in conclusion of his day-long working visit to Prague. The two countries should forget about previous small irritations, but not about the past as such, he said.

It is necessary to settle accounts with the past for us to have strength for the future, Kinkel said.

The Sudeten Germans are claiming their property, which was confiscated under the Benes Decrees of May 1945. Some 2.5 million Sudeten Germans were expelled from the then Czechoslovakia under the decrees.

Kinkel said the Czechoslovak-German treaty, signed in February 1992, is still valid and need not be rewritten.

Last year, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said he would seek a new Slovak-German treaty once the Slovak Republic becomes independent as of January 1, 1993. Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said he can see no reason for concluding a new treaty between the Czech Republic and Germany.

Klaus Rejects Sudeten German Claims

LD0502193493 Prague CTK in English 1823 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 5 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today told CTK that possible claims by Sudeten Germans towards the Czech Republic are unacceptable to the Czech government.

Klaus met today with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, who paid a day-long working visit to Prague. During the meeting, Kinkel was interested to discuss the Sudeten German issue, Klaus said.

I think that it would be stupid to bury the head in the sand and think that if not mentioned, the Sudeten German problem does not exist, Klaus said.

Sudeten Germans have been claiming their property, confiscated from them under the Benes Decrees of May 1945. About 2.5 million Sudeten Germans were expelled from the then Czechoslovakia under the decrees.

Klaus said that Kinkel told him he was under constant pressure from various political groups in Germany who want him to discuss the Sudeten German issue with Czech government officials.

He said that Kinkel made it clear that for him any changes in the Czehoslovak-German treaty of February 1992 are inadmissible. The same is naturally true of us, Klaus said.

Sudeten Germans have protested the treaty because it does not mention their claims.

Klaus told CTK: Neither the government, nor its premier nor its member is a partner for the Sudeten German landsmannschaft. But I can see no reason preventing us from clearing up our stands on the spot, not via the media.

President Havel on FRG Relations, Presidency

LD0702171693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Czech Radio director-general Jiri Mejstrik; date, place not given; from the "Conversations From Lany" program; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] Esteemed listeners Welcome to Conversations From Lany. [passage omitted]

The new Conversations From Lany will be shorter, approximately 15 minutes long. Every fourth week our colleagues will take turns to compiling this broadcast. The first talk with Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel was compiled by Czech Radio Director General Jiri Mejstrik. [passage omitted]

[Mejstrik] You are the last president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and the first president of the Czech Republic. There is no doubt a certain difference from the political, foreign policy, and internal policy viewpoint; there is also a constitutional difference. What do you feel are the main differences between these two presidencies?

[Havel] In my whole life, although albeit I never strived for it, I have encountered utterly peculiar and unlikely twists of fate, and now I once again have encountered something rather unusual—I was the last president of one state and the first president of another. It has not been easy for me to come to terms with this, but I have eventually managed to collect enough inner reasons to convince me that I could accept the candidacy for Czech president, regardless of the fact that I had also been the last Czechoslovak president. [passage omitted]

The position of the Czech president in many aspects differs from the position of the federal president. First of all, he is the president of a different state, a state with a different political tradition, a more homogeneous state in a certain sense, a state with a different geopolitical position. But that is not all. We now have the democratic constitution of the Czech Republic, which in a certain—and in my view very reasonable and meaningful—way incorporates the president into the structure of the constitutional system. The distinctiveness of this position will of course make the work different, the execution will be different.

But that is not the only difference. There is a significant difference also in the fact that we have gone through, we could say, a revolutionary or post-revolutionary period during the dramatic construction of our political system, the dramatic crystallization of political entities. We are entering an era of more stabilized democracy, based on a parliamentary system, on the competition of clearly defined political parties for the favor of voters. In direct elections the victors in these elections assume power, in our case in the form of a government coalition. They have a decisive influence on state policy. [passage omitted] I shall probably be seen less, but at the same time I hope I shall be perceived in the background of political life as some kind of guarantee of its stability.

There is one more thing I would like to mention. Today we are actually searching for the most effective balance between the various constitutional institutions—the parliament, president, and government. We are not only deciding about the mutual relations we will have among ourselves, but we are also predetermining, maybe for a long time ahead, these mutual bonds. That increases our responsibility. But I must admit that this task—especially since it will demand a lot of inventiveness and skill—intrigues me in a special way, and, despite the complexity of my position, I am looking forward to the challenge.

[Mejstrik] Mr. President, let us now focus on international politics. I hope I am right in saying that at 1400 on Friday, 5 February, at Prague Castle, you received German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. It seems to me that the specific and symptomatic nature of this visit was the fact that the visitor was precisely the German foreign minister. If I disregard the visit of neighboring countries' presidents to your inauguration, this was in effect the first high-ranking visit. What did you discuss with Mr. Kinkel?

[Havel] I know Minister Kinkel from before. In the context of this visit, even before I became president, he arranged a meeting with me. In between I was elected, so he used this occasion to visit me at Prague Castle. Our private meeting became an official reception. It was a brief audience lasting 30 minutes. Nevertheless, we filled it with an intensive conversation on various topics of interest to us. Naturally, I was interested in the succession to the treaty [Czechoslovak-German Friendship Treaty], because I was present at its birth, and I took part in the protracted and sometimes difficult process of its drafting. I naturally welcomed the fact that both republics' succession to the Czechoslovak Treaty should be entirely problem-free.

Among other topics, I underlined the unresolved problem of compensation for the victims of Nazism. For various reasons I feel that this is a problem of exceptional importance. Minister Kinkel presented to me another interesting notion of the German Government about the ways of administering this compensation. Our ministries will undoubtedly discuss this matter, and I was pleased to gain the impression that the German side has not forgotten this issue and that it has the will to address it.

[Mejstrik] The foreign policy of the Czech state does not, of course, boil down purely to relations with Germany, although these relations are of exceptional importance. How do you see the shape of future Czech foreign policy?

[Havel] After two independent states came into being, Germany has become by far the biggest and most powerful neighbor of the Czech Republic. Our common border is the longest and this state will be permanent. Naturally, this increases the importance of our relations with Germany, and at the same time this indirectly opens up the question you have asked—the question of basic points of departure of our foreign policy. We can frequently hear worries that a powerful Germany would stifle the small Czech Republic by its size, that it would tacitly and indirectly swallow it up, or perhaps that it would even turn it into some kind of satellite. These are dangers of which I am not afraid. We are able to face these dangers, should they actually come about, in a very simple manner, which is that our policy toward Germany will abide by principles, which should be abided by with regard to our policy toward all other states. These principles mean that our policy should grow from our fundamental self-confidence, it should be resolute, business-like, but at the same time proud, not subservient and menial. It should be based on the will for understanding, cooperation, and friendship with all. This cooperation should however be based on equality.

I think we have a chance and that, precisely with regard to our geopolitical position at the heart of Europe, it is even our duty and our task to be a point of stabilization in Europe, and to pursue a peaceful and open policy. How we will fulfill this task is solely up to us, I feel.

[Mejstrik] President, thank you for the talk. And to you, esteemed listeners, goodbye until next week.

[Havel] Thank you.

Deputy Foreign Minister Views Havel's Policy

AU0602202093 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 4 Feb 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with First Deputy Foreign Minister Sasha Vondra by Martin Danes in Prague; date not given: "Czech Diplomacy Must Be More Professional"]

[Excerpt] [Danes] You were President Havel's adviser on foreign affairs. Vaclav Havel is again president—this time, Czech president. Will you return to work for him?

[Vondra] At the moment, I work here at the ministry. I have been entrusted with reorganization, which should be completed in the spring. It is not my habit to leave a job half done, so I do not envisage that I would return to the Castle as an employee. On the other hand, following the election of the president, we are faced with the task of trying to coordinate foreign policy with him. Mr. Zieleniec and I will remain in close contact with the president.

[Danes] The new president's statement that his view on foreign policy differs in some respects from that of the

government could be a harbinger of possible jurisdiction disputes between the president and the government. What is your view, as someone who came into the government from the Office of the President, on the division of jurisdiction in the foreign policy sphere?

[Vondra] Judging by the interview with Vaclav Havel, I do not think the issue involved a statement by the president of the Republic. He merely replied to a few questions from CTK and, as far as I am aware, he did not accentuate the word "differs." One of the main tasks facing the newly evolved Czech Republic will be to become incorporated as rapidly as possible into the family of West European democracies. This huge task should provide sufficient motivation for the president and the government—and especially the Foreign Ministry—to demonstrate they are able to cooperate without any major differences of opinion.

[Danes] Who will determine foreign policy, the prime minister or the president?

[Vondra] The Foreign Ministry is responsible for foreign policy. From the point of view of the jurisdiction law approved by the Czech National Council, it is also responsible for coordinating foreign policy. The fundamental orientation is, naturally, provided by the government's mandate. Of course, the role of the president will also be very important, not only from the point of view of the Constitution, but also from the point of view of the standing and personality of Vaclav Havel.

I really do not think there should be any major differences or disputes between the president and the government. I have been personally involved in both Vaclav Havel's foreign policy and, later, in formulating the government's concept and I am a person who—I think—does not change his views. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Ruml Views Asylum Policy

AU0702155293 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 6 Feb 93 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Ian Ruml by Ulrich Glauber in Prague; date not given: "We Must Shift the Problem to the East"]

[Text] [Glauber] Mr. Minister, the Polish Government has made it quite clear to Bonn that Poland is not in a position to take in asylum-seekers deported by Germany. What did you agree upon with Interior Minister Seiters during your Bonn visit?

[Ruml] We know that there are more than 400,000 refugees in Germany who must leave the country when the new asylum law becomes effective. We cannot, of course, accept the idea that they be deported to the Czech Republic. We told the Germans that we would allow these people to go back to their country of origin if their transit across other countries is guaranteed and they bear the costs.

[Glauber] Does this definitely mean that asylum-seekers from Germany cannot seek asylum again in the Czech Republic?

[Ruml] They cannot. We cannot grant people asylum who first sought asylum in Germany.

[Glauber] Would the Czech Republic be ready to promptly help deported refugees transit across Czech territory?

[Ruml] What we have in mind is an ad-hoc agreement with Germany on the transportation of a certain contingent of refugees. They could be transported in trains. The German side would organize their repatriation. We would provide police escort and humanitarian care. We must, however, have a guarantee that the German side also sign such agreements with Slovakia, Hungary, and other countries that would be eligible for such transit so that the people do not stay in the Czech Republic. This would concern refugees who are already in Germany.

The German side has of course considerable interest in concluding an agreement with us on the transportation of refugees across our country. We are, of course, ready to conclude such an agreement, however, on condition that the Germans conclude a whole network of agreements with Central and East European countries, so that none of these countries becomes a place where the refugees get stuck. The Czech Republic has agreements with Austria and Slovakia on the transit of refugees. We do not have an agreement with Poland, Slovakia does not have one with Hungary, and Hungary does not have one with Romania. That is why we must see to it that this one-way road in the direction of the West is also open in the opposite direction, and this in full length.

[Glauber] A meeting of the interior ministers of the countries concerned has been scheduled for mid-February in Budapest. Given the different interests of the individual countries, can the meeting reach a result?

[Ruml] In my view, the strategy must be changed. The Schengen Agreement, which was concluded in the 1980's, proceeded from the fact of the Iron Curtain. The situation is different today. I think the Schengen Agreement should be modified and should accept the initiative of the Central and Eastern European countries. These countries must act jointly.

[Glauber] Are there already concrete ideas about the repatriation of the refugees?

[Ruml] We will allow their transit across our country in individual cases or under separately concluded agreements. Specifically, the problem of 40,000 Romanians was discussed. The German side has negotiated on this matter with Romania. If the Germans conclude agreements with us, Slovakia, and Hungary, they can be transported across our territories. We will try to do this by train and see what will happen.

[Glauber] You said that Germany is placing pressure on you. What kind of pressure?

[Ruml] The German side is pressuring us to sign an agreement on the repatriation of foreigners, similar to the agreement signed with Poland. It was of course only diplomatic pressure, and there were no threats. The German side has said that they will give us financial, organizational, and administrative help. I am of the view that this is not a financial, but political problem. It is necessary to negotiate.

On the other hand, we know that we must take measures to prevent illegal migration. We must, above all, set up a border between the Czech and Slovak Republics so that we can assume responsibility for the control of migration. We must also redefine the Czech Republic's visa policy. I am going to suggest to the Czech Government that we introduce mandatory visas for certain East European countries.

[Glauber] In addition, the Czech asylum law and the law on foreigners will be amended. If the border with Slovakia is strengthened to become a genuine border—would this not be a new iron curtain, the difference being that it is now built from the West and it goes right across the former Czechoslovakia?

[Ruml] Yes, it is a bit paradoxical. Being located in the center of Europe forces us to take such measures because the refugee problem is huge. If we do not solve it systematically—and I see such a solution only in an improvement in the living conditions of the countries where the people were born and lived—we must take such unpleasant measures. We must solve the problem jointly with several countries, otherwise we would become totally isolated from Western Europe.

[Glauber] Will the measures in the framework of the new asylum law in Germany force the Czech Republic to tighten its laws, in particular its asylum laws?

[Ruml] Yes, certainly. However, the Czech Republic will not only tighten the conditions, but will develop an initiative in the direction of its neighbors Austria, Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia for a common solution to the problems. I will meet the Austrian interior minister on 8 February, and prior to the meeting in Budapest, I would like to hold talks with the Polish interior minister.

We would like to establish a sort of institution dealing with these problems, which would have the working title "Central European Initiative." This initiative should include all Central European countries and some East European countries. We want to suggest it along with Poland and Hungary. So far, the initiative has been unofficial. We would like to give it a structure, concept, and institutional form.

Romanies Warn of 'Threat of a Racial War'

AU0602214893 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 4 Feb 93 p 13

[Report by Lada Hesova: "Is There the Threat of a Racial War?"]

[Text] The Romany Petition Committee of the Czech Republic has issued a protest statement against racial acts and assaults on members of the Romany minority. The statement is directed, among other things, against the government and parliament ignoring these acts. The protest comes in response to the demonstration by members of the skinhead movement in Pardubice on Saturday [30 January], during which several Romany citizens were attacked and their apartments demolished.

Pressure on the Government

According to the statement, by remaining silent the government is supporting fascist groups and organizations similar to them. In this way it wants to shed its responsibility for solving the social problems of citizens of Romany nationality. The Romanies demand observance of the law, a ban on racist and fascist groups and organizations with a similar ideology, the adoption of appropriate sanctions against those who violate valid legal regulations, and the initiation of criminal proceedings against city and community mayors who permit acts of racism. They demand, furthermore, that the government immediately start addressing the problems of the Romany ethnic minority in all areas and that the Czech parliament amend the "discriminatory" law on state citizenship. "If the government and parliament do not meet our demands, we shall first proclaim a hunger strike; as the second step, civil disobedience; and as the third step, the formation of an illegal group," the statement says. Representatives of the Petition Committee said that there is evidence of cooperation between the police and the skinhead movement, which allows skinheads to take action against Romanies.

Romanies on Hunger Strike?

Jan Rusenko, the Romanies' representative, said that they would stage a hunger strike on Monday [8 February], regardless of whether the government will negotiate or not. He specified that the hunger strike would begin with five people, who would gradually be joined by others from the whole republic. "We are ready to establish illegal combat units aimed against members of the skinhead movement. There is the threat of a racial war." According to Rusenko's words, a solution to the conflict is in the hands of the government. "We hope that the government will not allow a war to flare up," Rusenko added.

Anarchists' Support

Jakub Polak, chief editor of the A-KONTRA journal, who attended the meeting, spoke in a similar vein as representatives of the Romanies. The stand of the Romany citizens also enjoys the full support of the Animal S.O.S. anarchist movement. Petr Bergmann, its chairman, cited as evidence the cooperation between the police and the skinhead movement involving the recent attack on anarchists in Prague-Nusle, in which both were involved. M. Lacko, representative of the Romany Youth and Children Association (RAMAD) of the Slovak Republic, said that the protest statement equally applies to the situation in Slovakia. He said that, if an action similar to that of Pardubice is repeated, Romanies from eastern Slovakia are ready to invade the Czech Republic.

Agreement on Mutual Payments With Czechs Approved

LD0702163193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Today the Slovak National Council approved the payments agreement between the Slovak and Czech Republics, and the agreement between the two states on using national currencies in the sphere of mutual tourism.

The agreement was signed on 4 February by Julius Toth and Ivan Kocarnikk, the finance ministers of the two countries.

The Czech parliament's Chamber of Deputies approved the agreement on Friday [5 February].

Gabcikovo Dispute Prevents Treaty With Hungary

LD0502211793 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 5 (CTK)—Without a solution to the problem of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric plant it will not be possible to reach a fundamental interstate treaty between Hungary and Slovakia, representative of the state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Ivan Baba told CTK today.

He added that without a solution, he sees no way to push a bilateral treaty through the Hungarian parliament. The question of ethnic minorities is another such problem which, if not solved, would render diplomatic discussions of a treaty impossible, he said.

However, it is possible to begin preparing a basic treaty with the Czech Republic, he added, providing for cultural and educational cooperation with a view to Hungarians living there.

The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project on the Danube River, the continuing controversy between Hungary and Slovakia, was begun jointly by Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia in 1978. Eleven years later, under pressure from environmental groups, Hungary unilaterally halted work on its part of the project at Nagymaros, while Czechoslovakia continued at Gabcikovo, now on the territory of the independent Slovak Republic. Against Hungarian protests, Slovakia put its section into operation in October 1992. Hungary objects primarily to Slovakia's diversion of water from a section of the river forming the border between the two countries.

Economic Agreement Signed With Hungary

LD0502195693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The agreement between the governments of the Slovak Republic and Hungary was initialled in Bratislava today at the end of talks between Jaroslav Kubecka, state secretary at the Ministry of Economy, and Lajos Berenyi, state secretary for international economic relations.

According to the agreement, mutual contacts between the neighboring countries will use freely convertible currencies.

The document considers free contact in the border areas to be to the advantage of both sides.

Meciar Asks Foreign Minister Knazko To Resign

LD0602234393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2300 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] ended in Bratislava late tonight. Our correspondent Alexandr Picha reports:

[Picha] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar called on Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko to resign. This was announced by Minister Knazko after the end of the closed door session of the HZDS leadership. However, Milan Knazko said that he is neither going to resign nor give up his post in the party.

The Meciar government has also stopped the Slovak foreign minister's trip to the NATO headquarters, and HZDS deputies rejected Knazko's concept of Slovakia's foreign policy.

However, no formal decision on the conflict concerning Milan Knazko and Rudolf Filkus [chairman of HZDS Council] has so far been made by the session of the HZDS leadership, as the leadership delegates from districts voted not to continue the disciplinary proceedings (?against) those criticizing Meciar's party line within HZDS.

The HZDS leadership has also decided to continue talks with parliamentary parties in an effort to gain support for its presidential candidate Michal Kovac.

Speaking to correspondents in the evening Milan Knazko confirmed that neither he nor Rudolf Filkus would accept any proposal to run for the post of the Slovak president against Michal Kovac.

Knazko Refuses To Resign

LD0702155893 Prague CTK in English 1539 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 7 (CTK)—Slovak Premier and ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Chairman Vladimir Meciar called on Milan Knazko yesterday to resign from his post of Slovak foreign minister.

Knazko, who is also HZDS deputy chairman, told journalists after an extraordinary HZDS session here late last night he would neither resign from the post of minister, nor would he withdraw from the government movement.

Knazko said Meciar had criticised shortcomings in his foreign policy concept, inadequate preparation of some foreign trips and insufficient cooperation with other ministries.

He also noted that the premier described his ministry as the weakest in the Slovak Government.

The HZDS presidium agreed at the session not to resolve the internal problems through the mass media, Knazko said, and added that he would respect the agreement.

He said he does not intend to run for Slovak president and that he holds to his stand that a candidate for this post should be nonpartisan.

Asked whether a minister can be effective without support from the premier, Knazko said: I think so, because I've been in office for half a year already.

Knazko on Dispute With Meciar

AU0802092893 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Pavol Minarik, on 1 February; place not given: "I Am Becoming Inconvenient for People Who Want Their Orders Obeyed"]

[Text] The open dispute between Vladimir Meciar, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] chairman and prime minister, and Milan Knazko, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, is coming to a head these days, so it seems. On Monday [1 February] morning a RUDE PRAVO reporter spoke with Knazko about the reasons for this.

[Minarik] Representatives from HZDS district presidiums vigorously rejected your political behavior in Trnava yesterday. Do you feel guilty?

[Knazko] I was not invited to this meeting. I do not know what they rejected specifically, but, on the other hand, I would be glad to appear before any body within our movement and explain the essence of our dispute, which does exist, but is being deliberately trivialized and simplified.

[Minarik] The representatives, did they support the program of the movement, or a person, that is, Meciar?

[Knazko] It seems that they supported Mr. Meciar. But, since their declaration is so general, I will refrain from commenting. However, I do not shun a discussion within the HZDS, or a public discussion, either. I believe, however, that this is not only an internal problem of the party—as some want to describe it—but there is also a problem of coordinating the work of two bodies of the state administration. I do not believe that our movement should solve it. If there is someone to solve it, then it should be our parliament.

[Minarik] The prime minister, however, has accused you of causing disputes within your movement....

[Knazko] Mr. Meciar said that I talked the HZDS deputies into not voting for Roman Kovac as Slovak president. This is not true. I only tried to convince them that the structure of our society—and of our movement, too—should evoke a pluralistic and democratic image abroad. I was not unfaithful to the movement, nor to my role at the Foreign Ministry. I told them that any political body may recommend anything, yet it cannot tell the people how to vote. That is, I recommended that they voted according to their own beliefs and conscience.

[Minarik] When, and under what conditions, would you be willing to meet Meciar to solve these problems, or differences of opinion?

[Knazko] I am not going to pick a place and a time. I am willing to solve real problems of coordination on any level. Yet, I am against presenting them as the party's problems, convening district presidiums, and protesting against something about which I do not have enough information. This is somewhat reminiscent of the times when the Charter 77, or the "A Few Sentences" petition, was being condemned without anyone knowing exactly what they contained.

[Minarik] The HZDS Political Board was convened for Monday [8 February] afternoon. They will obviously deal with your problem. You will not be there, however. Why not?

[Knazko] The Political Board was convened at very short notice. I am flying to Kosice, because I promised some time ago that I would participate in the HZDS assembly. This cannot be postponed. Moreover, Kosice is my electoral district and I would consider it irresponsible to postpone this meeting because of the Political Board. I requested that the Board be convened on any day except Monday, but unfortunately....

[Minarik] Do you think that you have become an inconvenient person within the government, and the HZDS, too?

[Knazko] I do not know why am I so unfortunate as to become inconvenient for people who want their orders to be obeyed. However, I am not inconvenient for people who want to work on the basis of team cooperation.

[Minarik] You said you had no contacts with Meciar. Did you mean it?

[Knazko] Unfortunately, I did. Last Friday [29 January] they told me in no uncertain terms at the Government Office that the prime minister was sick, and that it would take two weeks for him to recover. On Monday [1 February] morning there was a government meeting, and I was happy to see that he was better.

[Minarik] Prime Minister Meciar excused himself for being unable to participate in the inauguration of the Czech president. You are the deputy prime minister and foreign minister. Did you expect that you would go to Prague to represent the prime minister?

[Knazko] This was a chance to meet not only presidents, but also foreign ministers from all over the world. However, the fact that I am not going is another example of the nonexistent cooperation, and the inability to understand our role.

[Minarik] Rudolf Filkus does not want to be a diplomat, but an economist. The prime minister, however, does not want his services. Do you know why?

[Knazko] This is Meciar's political decision, since Mr. Filkus is one of the people who have their own opinions, and do not like to yield to directive control.

[Minarik] How do you see the possibility of the Slovak president being elected in the second round, which will take place on 15 and 16 February?

[Knazko] It is difficult to say. I do not know what the opposition parties will say. I think that we should do what we missed doing at the beginning. That is to present open possibilities and a search for compromise. I do not consider it fortunate that the HZDS came up directly with the name of the candidate, and made it impossible to reach agreement with others.

[Minarik] When the opposition parties held a meeting on presidential candidates last week, they also spoke about Filkus, according to our information.

[Knazko] I do not have information from this meeting. This would be a promising possibility, however.

Parliament Session Called To Elect President

AU0502150693 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Feb 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "Presidential Election"]

[Text] Bratislava— Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], called the 15th NR SR meeting for 15 February 1993. A new election of the president of the Slovak Republic will take place at the meeting. Should a president not be elected in the first round, a NR SR resolution will determine the date of a new election without previous debate.

Only NR SR deputies may propose candidates for the post of president by submitting their nominations to the NR SR chairman by 1200 on 8 February 1993.

Two Candidates Proposed

LD0802140693 Prague CTK in English 1333 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 8 (CTK)—Two official candidacies for the second Slovak presidential election voting were presented to the Slovak parliament by today's deadline—those of Michal Kovac and Ivan Gasparovic, the parliament's deputy chairman Jozef Prokes said on Slovak Radio today.

Both Kovac and Gasparovic are members of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). Kovac is the former Czechoslovak federal parliament's chairman, Gasparovic holds the post of chairman of the Slovak parliament.

The election will take place on February 15. In case that none of the two candidates is elected, the second voting second round will follow on February 16, Prokes said. The date of possible presidential inauguration will be set by a parliament plenary session, he added.

In the first presidential election two votings, which took place on January 26 and January 27, no candidate was elected.

Professor Juraj Svec, the Bratislava-based Comenius University rector, the official candidate of the opposition parties, who conditioned his candidacy on support from all parliamentary parties, had withdrawn it an hour before the deadline, according to Ivan Simko, deputy from the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH).

HZDS Chairman Discusses Intra-Party Differences

AU0602213693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Feb 93 p 12

[Interview with Rudolf Filkus, council chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, by Martin Krno; place and date not given: "Slovakia Needs Calm"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Krno] You recently said that the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is at a crossroads and must decide which path to take next....

[Filkus] We really have to make an important decision. One path leads toward creating a party that, by not fully appreciating the democratic rules of its internal mechanism, consolidates power and is thus a source of constant tension. Another path leads toward a modern cooperative party adept at forming and maintaining political consensus, capable of openness and lucidity in its policy, and—therefore—trustworthy both at home and abroad. Slovakia needs a political structure capable of reaching agreement and it needs—first and foremost—a cooperative type of party. It is necessary to conclude agreements with the opposition, to know how to make compromises, and to constitute a coalition-style government.

[Krno] Will the HZDS choose one of the paths you have outlined or will it become polarized?

[Filkus] The election of the president and drawing up a list of candidates for the post of head of state have made many things clear. We still have a great deal to do in the sense that the agreements reached among the political parties have not yet been implemented to a level enabling us to present to parliament a candidate acceptable to it. Each party nominated its own candidate and none was successful. Only a strong party that knows how to cooperate and reach agreements by making certain compromises is qualified to achieve success and orient social development.

[Krno] What kind of compromises could your movement make?

[Filkus] The selection of a candidate for the office of president depends on each individual deputy. It is necessary for a deputy to respect party discipline, but it is also essential to leave room for his opinion and conscience. A decisive compromise on whose basis a vote is given to this or that candidate must emerge from the symbiosis of these three factors.

[Krno] Do you think you have broken internal party discipline?

[Filkus] I am absolutely unaware of this. I would be pleased if someone were to tell me how I broke party discipline and how I have impugned the HZDS Political Board or Presidium's regulations.

[Krno] Present day Slovakia undoubtedly needs a stable government. Will the HZDS be able to maintain its broad spectrum of views?

[Filkus] Our movement had a political center that gathered together many people oriented partly to the left and partly to the right. In the future it will obviously be difficult to formulate policy with a party of this nature. A shift to the left is quite apparent, not only in our country, but everywhere in Europe. On the other hand, there is a shift to the right in the liberal ideas of free democrats. We will not get by in the future with a movement of the center, something we had—until now—considered the HZDS to be. It is necessary to transform it into a movement with a more clear-cut profile. The March assembly will reveal how the HZDS will develop.

[Krno] So, the movement is heading for a split?

[Filkus] I would rather call it the completion or culmination of a structure that evolved in the variegated center of the Slovak political spectrum. [passage omitted]

Meciar Opposes Devaluing of Koruna

LD0502223293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Magda Pospisilova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Pospisilova] It can be said that the currency separation is half complete now. What will happen afterwards? How long, in your view, will the ratio between the Czech and Slovak koruna remain 1:1? At a news conference yesterday, you rejected a revaluation [as heard] and you said that a devaluation, in effect, is not urgent. Some Czech and foreign commentators argue that the postponement of the devaluation of the Slovak koruna can cause a massacre of the Slovak economy.

[Meciar] The issue of devaluation does not depend on a government decision. It depends on the behavior of business subjects. Success in maintaining the balance of payments of the Slovak Republic is the first step, and the second step depends on whether, in addition to maintaining this balance of payments, we manage to create state foreign currency reserves in order to maintain free convertibility of the Slovak koruna for hard currency. A government decision is not enough to achieve this. Of course, foreign experts assess things in a very schematic way. They say roughly this: Devaluation boosts exports, reduces imports, and since it would help you to export more and import less, do it. But devaluation also depends on the structure of production since in our case it is a question of semifinished products. We do not have exact knowledge of the flow of goods because, at present, exporting goods to the Czech lands is like exporting them abroad.

In the framework of the overall property designated for privatization—that is at present ready to be privatized—devaluation would mean further losses caused by reducing the value of this property and its easier exchange for foreign currency. So all this has to be assessed in view of its overall impact. One needs to know what it will impact it will have on the movement of prices on the market.

There are other measures. The first measure that will be initiated by the government is to limit the import of certain goods that do not need to be imported from abroad. The second measure will be aimed at the state budget in that state subjects and organizations will be instructed to buy goods produced in our country, and to buy imported goods only exceptionally, and only when they are not replaceable by domestically produced goods. Other measures will be aimed at boosting exports, but how this will be done is not yet completely clear. Strict discipline will be introduced in foreign currency relations between banks and enterprises.

Of course, all Slovak economic prospects cannot be based merely on this. But we will try to do it this way. If it does not work, then devaluation cannot be ruled out. However, if enterprises behave reasonably, this should be sufficient. First and foremost, the practice of depositing foreign currency abroad should be stopped. The movement of foreign currency abroad when resources are demanded from within the republic creates an untenable situation. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] Four presidents of neighboring states arrived for the inauguration of President Vaclav Havel. This was not a joyful sight for a number of Slovaks—I mean the fact, Mr. Prime Minister, that you as a representative of the president did not go there. Do you think that you should have been there, not so much because of Vaclav Havel himself, but because of Slovakia?

[Meciar] This is again being misunderstood. It was not President Havel, but Prime Minister Klaus who issued invitations for the inauguration. It was only during the inauguration that Havel became president, so until then it was a matter for the prime minister.

During the meeting that we held during the unofficial visit in Prague, Prime Minister Klaus interpreted the invitation to me but, at the same time, he drew attention to the fact that on the day of the inauguration the National Council of the Czech Republic would be in session and would discuss

the draft currency separation—it would simply be covered by this act—and that it would be suitable for the National Council of the Slovak Republic to be in session, while we would both be in contact and both be able to safeguard the continuity of the concluded intergovernmental agreement, which the delegation of the Czech Republic and the delegation of the Government of the Slovak Republic discussed. I explained to him that I hoped he understood that this would exclude my participation in the inauguration, and he said that was all right and that they count on my deputy premier who I would send there. That is why Mr. Kovac was sent. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] Why was not Slovakia represented at the aforementioned inauguration, as diplomatic protocol stipulates, by the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Slovak Republic?

[meciar] In the given case the representation went to Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac. Mr. Minister Knazko was not present. I cannot tell exactly where he was at that time, he did not tell me anything and we could not find him. [passage omitted]

Koruna To Remain Stable in Short-Term

LD0502190793 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 5 (CTK)—The Slovak Republic, at least in the short run, should have no problems concerning macroeconomic, budgetary or currency stability, the Chairman of the Slovak parliament's Natio-Economic and Budgetary Committee, Hvezdon Koctuch, told Slovak Radio today.

Slovakia, therefore does not consider upgrading or downgrading its new crown, Koctuch added.

It all depends on our efforts and those efforts must be aimed at (its full) convertibility. This should enable Slovak Government officials and economists to strengthen the exchange rate of the crown for the future, Koctuch stressed.

Speaking of the crown's buying power, he explained it should not fall more than 25 per cent below any freely convertible currency. Although this difference for a developing country is usually around 100 per cent, the buying power comparison of the (Czecho)Slovak crown was 348 per cent in 1991 and is currently around 280 per cent.

Koctuch said that the buying power parity of the crown to a USD [U.S. dollars] should be about 10 to 1, if one lives in the United States. The real exchange rate 28-29:1 attests to the fact that our labour and circumstances are extremely undervalued, according to Koctuch.

The devaluation of the Slovak crown, which to Koctuch is a mere product of Czech media imagination, cannot be considered after three previous devaluations of the Czechoslovak crown. These greatly improved the position of the Slovak crown towards freely convertible currencies, he said.

However, if the internal convertibility of the crown would still lead to more imports of products like perfumes, eventually the Slovak crown would have to be devalued, Koctuch concluded.

Romanies Appeal to Kovac To Discuss Romany Issue

LD0602161493 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 6 (CTK)—The Slovak Government and the Slovak Ministry of Culture in particular ignore and reject the demands of the Romany Minority for Cultural and Social Development, the Romany Civic Initiative (ROI) Union announced at a press conference in Kosice, east Slovakia, today.

In their statement, Romany representatives appealed to Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac to hold talks on the Romany issue. They also called for observers to be sent to Slovakia to investigate the observance of human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities there.

ROI union representatives plan to present this statement to Kovac in Bratislava February 10 and to hold talks on the Romany issue with Slovak Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Olga Keltosova.

The ROI Union, which has 30,000 members, called on all Romany associations and organisations to support its steps and enhance close cooperation.

The party representatives said that if the Romany parties do not succeed in uniting themselves, Jan Farkas, who is to be crowned Romany king this month, could help do so.

* * *

After a meeting with representatives of the Romany Petitions Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic Minorities, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus yesterday convened an extraordinary session on Monday, February 8 to discuss the Romany issue.

The session will be attended by five Czech ministers and the prosecutor general.

In a petition given to Klaus and Czech Parliament Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhde, the Romanies demanded that the ban on Fascist and racist groups in the Czech Republic be observed.

Out of an estimated 800,000 Romanies living on the territory of former Czechoslovakia, about 470,000 live in Slovakia.

Argentina's Di Tella, Kadar View Economic Ties

LD0502203193 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—Argentinian Foreign Minister Guido di Tella held talks on ways to expand Hungarian-Argentinian economic relations, in the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations with Minister Bela Kadar, on Friday.

Kadar told MTI that the factors hindering economic relations between the two countries were one of the main topics discussed.

Bilateral trade has declined in the past year, the boom of 1991 did not continue in 1992 and the value of Hungarian exports last year was only USD [U.S. dollars] 10 million. Argentina shares 0.001 per cent of Hungarian foreign trade.

The main reasons for the decline are the lack of Hungarian products for export and the fact that exporters mainly concentrate on markets closer to home.

Food and pharmaceutical industry products were not on the Argentinian list of products that could be imported from Hungary, another factor that significantly prevented the marketing of Hungarian products there.

The Argentinian foreign minister promised his government would examine this issue again. An agreement was reached, according to which a Hungarian-Argentinian joint committee would once more meet in session this year, to review the factors obstructing economic relations.

Belgian Deputy Premier Meets Defense Minister

LD0502212593 Budapest MTI in English 1941 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur held talks with Belgian Deputy Prime Minister Melchior Wathelet, in Budapest on Friday [5 February]. Fur was acting on behalf of, and on authorization from, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who could not be present due to his being stricken by the flu.

The sides mutually termed the Budapest talks of the some 40 Belgian economic experts to have been successful. Hungarian-Belgian trade turnover rose by 25 per cent over the past two years, and the activity of the 30 Belgian-Hungarian joint ventures operating at present also indicate favourable processes.

Melchior Wathelet stressed that Belgium accepted participation in three PHARE programmes, and Hungary and Belgium will shortly sign an agreement on constant cooperation in energy affairs.

Minister of Defence Fur stressed the need for the earliest possible ratification by Belgium of Hungary's association agreement with the EC.

At the request of the Belgian deputy prime minister, Fur reviewed the political situation of the Central-Eastern European region and Hungary. He stated that the country's successfully upheld home political stability is the most secure pillar of political democracy. The sides also agreed on the importance of protecting the minorities living beyond the borders.

Kazakh Prime Minister Arrives for Official Visit

LD0702172393 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko of the Republic of Kazakhstan arrived in Hungary on an official three-day visit on Sunday [7 February] at the invitation of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

The visit is the first high-level meeting in the history of Hungarian-Kazakh relations. The talks are expected to focus on the development of economic cooperation.

Just after his arrival, Tereshchenko is scheduled to meet Hungarian businessmen.

The Kazakh politician is to visit the General Electric Tungsram Company on Monday morning, and the Ikarus Coachbuilders Co. in the afternoon.

Kazakhstan shows a keen interest in Hungary's farming achievements, primarily in the takeover of its advanced maize-growing system. At present, the annual bilateral trade turnover amounts to about USD [U.S. dollars] 70 million which is hoped to increase to USD 100 million. In 1992, Hungarian sales to Kazakstan stood at USD 46 million, and Kazakh exports to Hungary at USD 20 million. Hungary is Kazakhstan's fifth biggest trading partner outside the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Most recently, the Foreign Ministry decided to open a Hungarian Embassy in Alma-Ata.

Hungarian-Ukrainian Minority Issues Body Meets

LD0502162493 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1500 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The situation facing Hungarians living in Ukraine compared to that of the Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries is much better, State Secretary Geza Entz, chairman of the Office of Hungarians Living Beyond the Borders, has said. The Hungarian-Ukrainian joint commission dealing with minority issues has closed successful negotiations in Kiev. It agreed that it will meet twice a year. A joint committee to coordinate textbooks is to start operation. At the talks it was ascertained that since the introduction of Ukrainian minority and language law, the old historic place names were reinstated in the Hungarian villages of Ukraine and separate decrees ensure the use of minority languages in public life, in offices, and at the courts.

State Secretary Views National Minority Issue

AU0802104293 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 Feb 93 p 9

[Interview with State Secretary Geza Entz, head of the Office of Hungarians Living Beyond the Borders, by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "To Be Hungarian in the Neighboring Countries"]

[Text] Three quarters of the ethnic Hungarians living beyond our border are living in our immediate neighborhood: the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, and Ukraine—State Secretary Geza Entz said. We asked the head of the Office of Hungarians Living Beyond the Borders how these Hungarian minorities feel and how they regard their situations. First, we asked Geza Entz whether the small and dispersed Hungarian minority in the Czech Republic and Austria can preserve their language and culture.

[Entz] They are trying to preserve their identity, and both countries guarantee the necessary conditions for this. There are 25,000 Hungarians living in the Czech Republic, the descendants of the people forcefully resettled to replace the German population there in 1946, in the wake of the government program issued in Kassa. Their diaspora status is always accompanied by disadvantages, and spiritual difficulties are also present. However, it is a promising development that the Czech Government supports the cultural organization of the Hungarian minority there. We can say that there are no obstacles whatsoever to the fulfillment of their cultural demands.

The Hungarian minority in Austria is made up of an indigenous Hungarian population and former emigres who live mostly in Vienna. The Austrian Government supports their activity aimed at preserving their identity, and their representatives are present on the Austrian Minorities Council.

[Decsi] A larger number of Hungarians live in Slovenia, Croatia, and Ukraine. These three countries are often mentioned as a positive example of minority policy.

[Entz] This can be explained by the fact that the political guidelines of these three countries are largely in line with Hungary's efforts. Thus, it is much easier to come to an agreement on national minority affairs too, compared with countries with which we have different views on other issues too.

The parliaments of Slovenia, Croatia, and Ukraine adopted national minority laws, which guarantee the wide use of national minorities' mother tongues. We also set up a mixed intergovernmental committee with each of these three countries to deal with national minority issues. Democratically elected representatives of the national minorities also participate in these committees.

As long as there is no sight of a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav conflict, the Hungarians living in Croatia have to face serious dangers. A third of them have already fled the country, another third are living in free Croatia, and a third are living in Baranya County, a territory occupied by Serbian irregular forces. Given the fact that the very existence of this community is in danger, it is impossible to hold them together. I must stress that Croatian policy is not to be blamed for all this.

The Hungarian-Slovenian interstate agreement also contributed to the total fulfillment of the demands of the Hungarian national minority living in Slovenia. The same applies to the Slovenes living in Hungary. The Slovenian constitutional system provides the guarantees needed for the complete fulfillment of the demands of national minorities living there.

Along with the creation of the Ukrainian state, the national minority issue received an adequate role in our interstate relations. According to estimates, there are 200,000 Hungarians living in Subcarpathia. That is why we considered it important to formulate the basic principles of our national minority policy in a joint intergovernmental declaration.

Ukraine guarantees a broad range of national minority rights, including publicity and the free use of the mother tongue in the administration. Recently, various Hungarian villages have regained their historical names, not only in Hungarian, but also in Ukrainian. According to the Trianon Peace Agreement, in the areas connected to the CSSR, old Hungarian names were replaced by fantasy names which later were also used by the Soviet administration. Now, the original names have been restored.

[Decsi] What is your opinion about Hungarian-Slovak coexistence?

[Entz] According to opinion polls conducted in Slovakia, there are no tensions between the two nations on territories where Hungarians and Slovaks have lived together for a long time, and this refers to southern Slovakia. The same does not apply to northern Slovakia, where opinion poll results indicate that anti-Hungarian feeling is very strong. Many people in northern Slovakia think that the solution of the national minority problem is to expel the Hungarians. If the mass media support this idea with a propaganda campaign of hatred, the situation might further deteriorate.

We can say generally that problems arise in areas where communities have been artificially disturbed, and people forced together for totally unjustified reasons, reasons of political power. The mixing of different cultures is a long process; this has been going on for more than 500 years in Switzerland.

However, it is a positive development that the Hungarians in Slovakia have strong parties enjoying the voters' serious support. They are present in Parliament, and their opinion and positions are also known internationally. Slovakia must join the European system, and an adequate solution to the national minorities issue is one of the conditions for this. The prevailing constitutional

order should express the fact that there are different communities living there. The state should provide constitutional guarantees for the development and operation of institutions needed to preserve the minorities' national identity.

[Decsi] It has often been stated by the Slovak side that they want to guarantee the rights of the Hungarian minority in accordance with international agreements. However, the Hungarian Government demands some kind of extra rights.

[Entz] The Hungarian Government does not demand anything that the minority living in a given territory does not also demand. International documents were not formulated with a view to a single national minority, but rather they contain generalities. Every national minority is in a different situation, and their sociological background and history are different, too.

Most international norms are not international legal obligations, and at most they can be conditions for correctness. Generally, people who have problems in this area declare themselves as completely adhering to these norms. If we look around the Central European region, we can find a lot of such self-declared followers of the best national minority policy in the area of the former Soviet empire. These are unfounded claims aimed at avoiding dealing with the issue genuinely.

The Hungarian Government does not have unilateral demands, it only sticks to its principles. In our view, the denial, rather than the very existence, of the demands deriving from the real needs of the national minorities is a destabilizing factor. We cannot accept the sweeping away of these needs by referring to international norms. Political dialogue and negotiations should create the conditions necessary for the fulfillment of the needs of the national minorities. If a country succeeds in this, that country will have stability and its national minority will integrate into society. However, if it fails, a disintegration process will commence, and non-democratic methods will gain ground. The 20th century has shown a wide range of such methods, from the policy of expulsion to the denial of the right to one's own mother tongue, and we can still see such methods in our very neighborhood.

[Decsi] You visited Transylvania recently. In your opinion, what is the situation of the Hungarians there?

[Entz] It is very difficult to give a general opinion about this; unfortunately, the wave of resettling to Hungary continues, and this shows that the problems have not yet been solved. The majority who emigrate are well educated, and this affects the entire community.

The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] formulated a clear program at its congress. This program stipulates the development of a system of self-government bodies, in accordance with the geographical, sociological, and cultural particularities of the ethnic Hungarians living here. The RMDSZ congress declared that the Hungarian minority is interested in the democratic development of Romania as a whole. Claims that these Hungarian efforts are against the Romanians' vital interests are totally unfounded.

[Decsi] The situation of Hungarians in Vojvodina is very alarming. How united is that community?

[Entz] The greatest problem is that the very existence of the Hungarians in Vojvodina is in danger as long as this war in Yugoslavia continues. The Hungarians in Vojvodina form a strong community and represent a total political unity. I would like to remind readers that 90 percent of the Hungarians living there voted for the candidate of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] in the local government elections held in December. This led to the emergence of the personnel and legal conditions for the establishment of local self-governing bodies. Their program is also recognized internationally. This program of personal autonomy provides the best conditions for a political and administrative integration within a state. The fate of the Vojvodina Hungarians depends on when and how the Yugoslav conflict ends.

[Decsi] According to several press analyses, the situation of the Hungarian minority in Central Europe is a powderkeg in this region. Do you agree with this formulation? New national minorities have also emerged along with the emergence of new states in our region.

[Entz] This shows that the issue cannot be divided from Central and Eastern European considerations. It is quite clear that the conflicts are caused by the failure to recognize the rights of minorities, not by the very existence of these minorities. It is wrong to present the common interest of these communities as a source of conflict. This attitude is nothing but the theory of submissiveness to the aggressor. And this is the logic of the fatal Munich agreement well known in the 20th century, when the aggressor, the oppressor, the one violating the rights of others is considered to be right, while the representation of just interests is questioned. We must not build a new Europe in the spirit of the Munich agreement, which has already led to one catastrophe.

Interior Minister Discusses Ministry's Tasks

AU0802111893 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Feb 93 pp 1,4

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Peter Boross by Vereckei on 3 February; place not given: "The Fee of Passports Is Increasing—Peter Boross: The Government Does Not Tolerate the Extremist Phenomena—Judicial Body Would Examine the Case of the III/III Members"]

[Text] The government does not tolerate any kind of extremist or racist discrimination. As long as this cabinet is in office, no one has any reason to fear. However, these

activities also have a framework, namely the freedom of speech, Peter Boross said at a news conference on 3 February.

Talking about wearing badges that represent extremist ideologies, Boross said that a policeman cannot be expected to intervene in a case for which he has no legal powers. Therefore, I myself took the responsibility and decided that these symbols cannot be tolerated. The government cannot be expected to distance itself from displays of extremism every other day. Sooner or later, these kinds of demands achieve exactly the opposite, Boross said, hinting at the statements of Gyorgy Gado, a deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Answering journalists' questions, Boross also spoke about the speech made in Parliament on 1 February by Izabella Kiraly B., a deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. He emphasized that there is a generation in Hungary that carries the Holocaust in its bones and anyone who does not take this into consideration lacks political empathy. Boross also announced that the police remanded two young people in custody who had participated in the hooliganism at Dobrentei ter [Budapest].

At the news conference, Boross also summarized the ministry's tasks. Some 22 draft bills of the ministry are due for parliamentary debate but no decision can be expected on some of these in 1993. He also explained that major changes to the electoral law would distort the political power structure, and, therefore, no fundamental changes can be expected. However, there has to be a law to settle certain issues, for example, how many signatures are needed for a referendum and on what issues one can be called.

A bill on home rental was also mentioned at the news conference. The basic premise of the concept is that everyone who wishes to should be able to purchase his apartment. The rules on rent charges are within the scope of the local authorities rather than the state, the minister said, adding that, in spite of previous worries, no rent increases can be expected because local authority officials are assessed by the public every four years.

The case of the III/III department members will again be discussed by Parliament, Boross said. Compared with previous proposals, there is the important difference that, as opposed to a parliamentary committee, the case of the people accused of secret service activities would be assessed by a body made up of judges.

The issue of Hungarian citizenship was also raised. People will have to wait eight years to gain Hungarian citizenship, Boross said. Passport fees will soon be increased, but the validity will also be increased to 10 years.

Talking about the local authorities, Boross repeated his previous statement, namely that the state has to exercise an economic supervisory role over local bodies. A separate bill is being prepared on the fire service and on civil defense. They will not be united into one organization but there will be a joint command. City fire services will come under the control of the local authorities from 1994.

Answering a question from MAGYAR NEMZET, Boross described as irresponsible, incomplete, and laden with ulterior motives the opposition's proposal—which we have also published—to place the action units under the Defense Ministry's control. The minister said that, even for organizational reasons, this would not be practical. In addition to policing tasks, the action units, he said, could also be used for transporting people in the event of a flood of refugees.

According to MAGYAR NEMZET's information, the program proposal on reorganizing the police has been or is being prepared at the National Police Headquarters. Establishing police units in the villages would be the first stage of this. According to our information, experts are using the gendarmerie of the inter-war years as a model. Our correspondent asked if Boross was worried that the police would again come under a crossfire of political attacks.

The minister said that he was not worried. At that time, there used to be 900 gendarme posts in the country as opposed to the 170 police posts and police headquarters today. This number has to be increased to at least 400 and, in 1994, the police force also has to be increased by 4,000. The goal is to have police posts no more than 20 kilometers away from each other in the country, Boross said in conclusion.

Press Secretary Optimistic on NATO Membership

WS0802091193 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Studio interview with Zdobyslaw Milewski, press secretary of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, by Krzysztof Skowronski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] What are the latest resolutions reached by the government coalition [words indistinct]?

[Milewski] Let me say good morning first. The resolutions are as follows: The budget must be responsible, it cannot ruin the chances of the Polish state. The government cannot spend more money than it earns. It is as simple as that.

[Skowronski] So what should the budget be like?

[Milewski] Exactly as I said it should be.

[Skowronski] What will the Council of Ministers decide today concerning the budget?

[Milewski] Do you really want me to be a prophet?

[Skowronski] The Council of Ministers is rumored to be thinking of suspending the so-called round-the-budget laws. Is it true? What will the consequences of such a step be?

[Milewski] I get the impression you know better what the Council of Ministers will do.

[Skowronski] Has the government abandoned the plan to introduce the 50-percent income tax? Do you know anything about it?

[Milewski] I suppose that the government does not envision a 50-percent income tax.

[Skowronski] What will happen if the Sejm does not pass the budget?

[Milewski] I think the Sejm will pass the budget.

[Skowronski] What makes you say that?

[Milewski] Common sense. I really do not believe that there are a great many people who think that one can spend much more than he can earn.

[Skowronski] Well, but the state can print more money. Is it true? Is this a problem?

[Milewski] It is true. The state has done it before, but it did not bring any luck. It turned out that such a move is not good for the people.

[Skowronski] Is the government coalition rather unanimous? Is there friction within the coalition?

[Milewski] Well, you must be joking. The government coalition has never been unanimous. There have always been tensions. No one has ever tried to conceal this. Every time there was a vote on an important issue, the coalition always won by at least one vote. I think this is one of the good things that may be said about the coalition.

[Skowronski] When will the government apply for the decrees?

[Milewski] The government has already done so. The government has forwarded it to the Sejm, and the decision is now up to the Sejm.

[Skowronski] Why has a new minister of culture not been appointed yet? We are jumping from one topic to another, but it has to be so.

[Milewski] This question should not be addressed to me because Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has submitted a motion to the president. She is still waiting for his decision.

[Skowronski] Do you happen to know why?

[Milewski] I have said here that this question should not be directed toward me.

[Skowronski] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has talked about replacing some ministers in her cabinet. Do you know anything about this?

[Milewski] Well, you have said too much, you know. Prime Minister Suchocka spoke about an evaluation of ministers.

[Skowronski] When will the result of this evaluation be known?

[Milewski] Very soon.

[Skowronski] That is, when?

[Milewski] I think in a week or two.

[Skowronski] What are the consequences of the case of Minister Dyka?

[Milewski] Well, it is very hard to tell because the case of Minister Dyka has been addressed by the mass media. I do not think there is much more to add to what has already been said. That is, Minister Dyka is on leave. After the leave, it is hard to tell.

[Skowronski] What can you say about the prime minister's visit to Davos?

[Milewski] I think the prime minister's visit to Davos was very successful. I believe that a great many very important meetings were held during the visit. If you want statistics, I will say that there were 12 meetings. The Prime Minister held 12 meetings, during which she discussed important problems. Because so little time has elapsed, it is difficult to say how successful the Davos visit was. It is difficult to relate what had happened there. But, I think that the most important.... [Milewski changes thought] No, not the most important. I think, I

would like to tell you about three meetings that are worth mentioning. The first was with President Kravchuk. The Polish press very often mentioned the fact that the prime minister had not met with Kravchuk when she was in Ukraine, in Kiev. This time, the prime minister met with Kravchuk twice. During the two meetings, President Kravchuk apologized to the prime minister for being absent from Kiev during her visit. He said that it was the schedule of the visits and.... [Milewski changes thought] As far as the more important issues are concerned, they discussed the economy. They agreed that the bilateral turnover should be increased, that the turnover should be more dynamic. They also pointed to the obstacles that slow down the turnover. Another of Prime Minister Suchocka's important meetings was with the Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. This was a difficult meeting. It was a meeting that addressed issues that had not been settled for a very long time. Both prime ministers talked about bilateral relations, about mutual financial settlements, about coming to grips with debts. A committee of experts is still debating the issue. The committee cannot reach an agreement, although the Polish and Russian positions are now closer. And....

[Commentator, interrupting] What are the major problems?

[Milewski] Well, of course, the main problem is money. That is, money was discussed making the talks so difficult. There is no agreement between the Polish and the Russian negotiators. I think that the meeting between the Polish prime minister and the new Russian prime minister was necessary. I think that we can be a little more optimistic as far as the results of further talks on debts are concerned. I think that in Davos, during the talks with the Russian prime minister, another important issue was brought up—namely, the issue of the gas pipe. A gas pipeline will be built from Russia to the West. It would be good for Poland if the pipeline ran through our territory. The Russian prime minister assured us that all other proposals have been rejected, and only two are being considered. Both envision that the pipeline will run through Poland.

[Commentator] How else could a gas pipeline from Russia run to the West? Is it possible?

[Milewski] Of course it is. For example through the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

[Commentator] Now, the third important meeting.

[Milewski] The third one. Well, I must reiterate that all the meetings were important because there were twice as many invitations than actual meetings. This is why the Polish delegation chose to attend the important meetings. I am listing three, but there were more. The third meeting was with Manfred Woerner, the general secretary of NATO. He stressed that it is Poland's duty to remain stable in this part of Europe. Manfred Woerner said that Poland enjoys this stability, and ensures stability in this part of Europe. He also said that Poland is first in the line of countries that have a chance to be admitted to NATO.

[Commentator] First in line. Does it mean that Poland will be admitted to NATO within the next few years? Was the date set?

[Milewski] No, no one mentioned any schedule. So, I cannot say, for example, that it will happen next Thursday. According to the general secretary of NATO, however, Poland is first in line of the countries in this part of Europe.

[Commentator] The seminar in Davos was about the world economic crisis. Was a solution worked out?

[Milewski] Well, I would not fully confirm your statement that the seminar was devoted to any single topic because it addressed many subjects. There were many things happening at one time. As far as the worldwide drop in production is concerned, no seminar will solve the problem. I think that all the individual countries should cope with it themselves. I believe that Poland has found a solution. As you know, and so do our listeners, Poland witnessed a growth in production in the past year.

[Commentator] What do you think about the conflict between Jaroslaw Kaczynski and the Belweder [presidential residence]?

[Milewski] Can I think nothing of it?

[Commentator] Was there any snow in Davos?

[Milewski] Yes, there was a lot of snow in Davos.

[Commentator] Did you find time for skiing?

[Milewski] Well, you must be kidding. Of course I did not. Nor did any other member of the Polish delegation. Certainly, everyone looked fondly on the snow-covered mountains and the people skiing.

[Commentator] Thank you for the interview.

[Milewski] Thank you.

Navy To Participate in NATO Exercise

LD0502202493 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 5—Poland will join the NATO Western alliance sea manoeuvres for the first time in June 1993, Ministry of Defence spokesman Leszek Ziolo said on Friday [5 February]. The news was first announced by head of the ministry Janusz Onyszkiewicz at a press conference on Thursday.

Poland was invited to take part in the "Baltops 1993" military exercises by head of the U.S. Navy in Europe. They will be held on June 16-18 in the Baltic on German

and Danish territorial waters as well as on international waters near Bornholm Island.

Besides NATO Baltic member states, also Poland and Lithuania will participate in the manoeuvres. Russia has not responded yet to the invitation.

The first official ties between Poland and NATO were established in 1989 when a parliamentary group of the North Atlantic Council paid a visit to Warsaw. Then, President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka visited the NATO headquarters.

NATO's Secretary General Manfred Woerner has twice visited Poland. Speaking at the annual World Economic Forum in the Swiss ski resort of Davos, he vowed that Poland might join NATO as the first state of the Visegrad Group.

Minister Meets Journalists on Return From Kiev

LD0402163593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] Following his return after a three-day visit in Kiev, National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz met with journalists. He stated that the principle orientation of Polish policy is to join the European communities and NATO. The minister said:

[Begin recording] The principal element for the Polish Armed Forces to become compatible [previous word in English], as they say in English, with the armed forces of the NATO countries, is full civil control over the army. As is known, this is now being implemented in Poland. This is one of the aims of the reform that we are implementing both in the Ministry and in the armed forces. No other conditions are defined. For the time being there is general speculation about Polish entry into NATO and I note with satisfaction all these different informal, albeit important, remarks which indicate that Poland has prospects of joining NATO and maybe even in the not too distant future. [end recording]

[Announcer] Minister Onyszkiewicz underscored that this does not mean that our eastern neighbors will be ignored. We want to build a sphere of confidence and cooperation in Europe, he said.

Former Soviet, East Europeans Face Entry Curbs

LD0502230193 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 5—Citizens of the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria will be able to enter Poland only after producing an official invitation from a Polish citizen confirmed by appropriate Polish authorities, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Jerzy Zimowski told Sejm deputies Friday [5 February].

He did not specify when the new regulation would come into force, but added that if it proved ineffective in controlling the inflow of foreigners, then the government would again consider the introduction of entry visas.

Zimowski told a joint session of three Sejm committees that the decision on introducing the officially registered invitations was taken by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in order to "eliminate the undesired side-effects of some arrivals to Poland." He added that Suchocka assured his ministry that if the measure proved ineffective "the postulate of introducing entry visas put forward by the ministry would be reconsidered."

The majority of speakers during the committees session were against entry visas which, they said, would lead to retaliation by the countries concerned. The aim of the government-proposed action on Easterners was to curb illegal trade, alcohol smuggling, outflow of hard currency from Poland, and, most importantly, crime. Although last year foreigners committed only 1 percent of criminal offences recorded in Poland, their number increased six-fold over the last two years.

Olszewski Urges Scrutiny of Walesa's Files

WS0502133093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Studio interview with Jan Olszewski, former Polish prime minister and leader of the Movement for the Republic, by Jacek Skowronski; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] Why did you not participate in the anti-Belweder demonstration?

[Olszewski] All journalists have been asking me this question for the last several days. The answer is always the same: I was not invited to take part in it, to begin with. But the most important thing here is that I seem to be a part of this currently resuming dispute in the sense that it is a result of the unfinished file-checking process. The consequences of this dispute are very grim. I believe that if we had managed to solve this problem earlier and in a more balanced way, we would not now face the crisis sweeping the central institutions of the state.

[Skowronski] Will the Movement join the committees pressing for early presidential elections?

[Olszewski] I think that it is too early to talk about this. First of all, we must finish the certain process that we have started. And then the outcome of this process will determine how we proceed.

[Skowronski] Is the difference between your alliance and Mr. Kaczynski's of a tactical nature, or perhaps you differ in your programs and more profound questions?

[Olszewski] Well, it is very difficult to say at this point. However, I have always believed that we must solve this problem, which we inherited from the old regime. Unless it is dealt with in a proper way, it will undermine the fundamentals of our statehood. So, the whole thing should be viewed not in terms of tactics, but of the

strategy of building the new state. As for differences in our programs, I think that Mr. Kaczynski shares my opinion on this point.

[Skowronski] Do you approve of Mr. Kaczynski's recent point-blank demand for the immediate resignation of Lech Walesa?

[Olszewski] I believe that the point-blank nature of this demand is conditioned by the fact that the solution of this case is long overdue. I would concentrate on creating conditions for the proper execution of the file-checking process. In a way, this is a key conflict, because it involves the most important state body. I think that we should work this out in a fast, trustworthy, and impartial way.

[Skowronski] Could you briefly evaluate President Lech Walesa and his two-year service in this capacity?

[Olszewski] I would like to put aside the file-checking case. In political terms, the president's latest moves made it difficult for us to further support him and his stand. There is no longer the continuation of the slogan, which I always opposed, that Lech Walesa is the president of all the Poles. The fact that he vetoed a law taking away high pensions from the people who deprived Poland of its independence, virtually defending outright criminals, cast a different light on many things and put the president on a concrete side of the conflict.

[Skowronski] Are you not convinced by the Belweder's argument against collective responsibility?

[Olszewski] No, I am not, because I do not see any collective responsibility here. If this point was well-intentioned, then the president was misled. The legislature embraced specific individual cases and even provided for the possibility of appealing to court. So, the violation of individual guarantees are out of the question.

[Skowronski] Is the Sejm capable of quick adoption of a law regulating file-checking?

[Olszewski] Its previous practices do not speak in favor of such a decision. But I still hope that the Sejm, confronted with the current situation, will rise to the occasion and make it. Maybe we should actually adopt specific file-checking legislation, as was suggested by the Supreme Court chairman in a letter to the president, that would involve only the president.

[Skowronski] Who should conduct this checking?

[Olszewski] It needs some more consideration, but I believe that this should be some independent power, which in a law-governed state is naturally a court.

[Skowronski] In other words, do you think that one should first pass a separate law that would concern solely the president and then initiate general file-checking?

[Olszewski] This case should be investigated as soon as possible for the sake of the president himself, the prestige of this institution, and first of all, the interests of the state.

[Skowronski] Yesterday, one of the ministers in your government, Mr. Szeremetiew, stated that files from the times of martial law were burnt. Do you know anything about this matter? Did you hear Mr. Szeremetiew's statement?

[Olszewski] Yes, I heard his statement. But I would like to refrain from commenting on it since it deals with the ministry whose activities are rather secretive. I think that the public deserves an exhaustive explanation on that, because the destruction of documents, which sometimes was carried out in the name of law, has caused much harm and deprived us of evidence that could be valuable at present.

[Skowronski] What do you think of the latest evidence revealed by a Security Police officer who said that secret files had been burnt and shredded in Swiec in 1989? Do you think someone should be held responsible for that?

[Olszewski] There is no doubt that they deliberately covered up their tracks on a large scale. That was a widespread action.

[Skowronski] Do you think that the Sejm will manage to approve the budget before 20 February?

[Olszewski] It is very difficult for me to answer this question. Theoretically, the coalition, which supports this budget, enjoys the majority in the legislature, but recent developments have shown that everything is possible.

[Skowronski] The Sejm is going to vote today on stripping two deputies of legislative immunity. How will you be voting?

[Olszewski] I would not like to rush to any decisions at this point. Our deputies club will try to adopt a united stand on this. To be perfectly honest, I have an ambivalent attitude regarding this matter, especially as far as Deputy Zaleski is concerned, who has his personal opinion. But I am afraid that the whole thing will carry a heavy strain of politics.

[Skowronski] Will Poland manage to avoid the political chaos?

[Olszewski] It should.

Ex-Minister Kiszczak Discusses Walesa Files

AU0702172193 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 3 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with ex-Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak by Ewa Rosolak; place and date not given: "Those Files Are the Scrapheap of History"]

[Text] [Rosolak] Why have all the files on Lech Walesa been destroyed?

[Kiszczak] In 1989, not only were Mr. Lech Walesa's files destroyed, but also those of many other people from various political currents. It seemed a natural thing to do. After decades of political struggle in which both sides rained blows against each other, we finally agreed to hold the "roundtable" talks. We commenced a process of national accord and reconciliation. In such a situation, it seemed natural to destroy the files of our political opponents. After all, all available information on them had already been collected, and no one ever checked it later. Leaving all this material intact would have only confused future researchers and distorted the picture of those people and times.

[Rosolak] Who gave the order to destroy them?

[Kiszczak] That is of no significance.

[Rosolak] What was in the 44 volumes of files on Lech Walesa?

[Kiszczak] Indeed there were a great many volumes, containing all kinds of material written from a hostile point of view toward Walesa. The material was provided by various means—agents, observers, and electronic bugs installed in telephones and apartments.

No one would believe me if I said that Lech Walesa was not monitored all those years. He was, from the middle of the 1970's onward. Until the 1980's, the basic work was performed by the Security Service attached to the former voivodship militia command in Gdansk, supervised by headquarters. During his internment, it was performed by headquarters itself. Later, it was again performed in Gdansk by the Gdansk Office for Internal Affairs.

[Rosolak] If there was so much material on Walesa, why was he never put on trial in 1982?

[Kiszczak] There was a desire to do so. People then began to consider what to do with him. The firm majority of the decisionmakers of the time wanted to put him and other interred Solidarity leaders on trial.

[Rosolak] Who, in particular, demanded a trial?

[Kiszczak] If the issue was to be examined in historical terms, I would mention names, but with the situation the way it is, mentioning names would be simple betrayal, which I will not do.

In late autumn of 1982, the temperature rose concerning a final decision about Walesa. The Politburo discussed what to do with him. As we know, I traveled to the internment center at Arlamow and talked to Walesa for the first time. I held a long and difficult talk with him. I wanted to talk him into some conciliatory gestures that would permit his release, but he refused. He stubbornly clung to his political arguments. I did not try too hard to make him change his mind because I knew it would not make any difference.

When I returned to Warsaw I spoke out firmly in favor of his release. I opposed his internment. I remember that Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and Kazimierz Barcikowski thought the same way as I did, as did General Jaruzelski. That did the trick, even though we were in a minority.

Later I issued an order to the voivodship Citizens Militia commander in Gdansk to release Lech Walesa.

[Rosolak] Why are you defending Walesa now?

[Kiszczak] I feel disgusted when I see, hear, and read about the disgraceful attacks on the Polish president. I never liked Walesa and voted against him in the first round of presidential elections, but in the present situation I have decided to break my silence. That is the only reason.

Walesa: Culture Minister Nomination Still Open

LD0502193093 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 5—President Lech Walesa, commenting on Friday [5 February] on differences over the appointment of Zbigniew Klajnert for the post of minister of culture, said that his candidacy, forwarded by the Christian National Union (ZChN), remains an open question.

President Walesa, holding a press conference at the Sejm (lower house of parliament), once again repeated that he had decided not to sign Klajnert's nomination in view of the "resistance from a number of milieux."

Walesa added that appointments to respective government posts constitute an internal issue of coalition parties, an issue in which he does not intend to get involved in. However, he did stress that in the current political situation in Poland, his "participation in choosing ministers is expedient."

The president also denied rumours alleging that he has agreed for Zbigniew Dyka to continue to be minister of justice on the condition that Klajnert's candidacy is withdrawn. "When I leave the Belweder Palace (seat of the president) I will engage in trading, today I am not trading, today I am choosing the best variants for Poland by employing democratic principles," said the president.

Asked whether he will extend support for the government's 1993 budget bill, President Walesa confirmed that he will do so, but added that the approval of the budget lays with the Sejm.

The president, asked to comment on rumours that former Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is allegedly one of the candidates for the post of Poland's

ambassador to the United States, replied that decisions concerning this sphere are made by the prime minister and appropriate ministry.

Walesa To Support Values Represented by ZChN

LD0502154593 Warsaw PAP in English 1514 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 5—President Lech Walesa, after a Friday [5 February] meeting with the presidium of the Christian National Union (ZChN) parliamentary caucus, opted for "the maintenance of the political parity on the basis of which the ruling coalition was formed, including the proper position of the ZChN," reads a communique conveyed to PAP.

The talks covered the political situation in Poland, in the context of which the president emphasised that after years of the communist rule, the value system on which Polish tradition was based is missing. Christian values which were isolated in the former system, presently require support.

According to the interlocutors, "political disputes should be resolved in a democratically elected parliament", not in the streets. They said they hoped that the most important problems of state would be consulted upon with the ruling coalition strongest centre-right party (i.e. ZChN). Concluding the talks, the president stated that he will serve and aid the values represented by the ZChN.

The meeting was attended by Sejm speaker and ZChN leader Wieslaw Chrzanowski, ZChN parliamentary club chair Stefan Niesiolowski, and ZChN press spokesman Ryszard Czarnecki.

Drzycimski Suggests Kaczynski's 'Political Death'

WS0402133793 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Studio interview with Andrzej Drzycimski, spokesman for the president of the Republic of Poland, by unidentified radio commentator; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Commentator] Will the president pressure the Sejm to pass the bill on cadre review as soon as possible?

[Drzycimski] Good morning. This is not the first time I am speaking on this issue. As far as can I remember, you were recording my statement yesterday. I would like to say once again that the president did everything he could at this stage. He wanted to put an end to this issue as soon as possible. Therefore, he proposed a solution which is honorable, but at the same time it is a solution which would satisfy the president's adversaries. He put forward a person who, according to those who criticize the president, is the most credible. It seemed that it was possible to end this sad, nonsensical issue which does not present our democracy in the best light. Well, it is said that such cases also occur in a democracy. That is why the president did what he could. Now, we can only wait for the Sejm to decide on how the review process will be implemented. As you know, there has been a number of bills. The president had one as well, but we did not submit it because it would have been the eighth or so review bill. If necessary, the President's Office is open and it will assist the activities of others.

[Commentator] Will the president appeal to the Sejm, as soon as possible, within a week or two....

[Drzycimski, interrupting] Dear Listeners, I think we really have more important problems in our country than pseudo-quarrels. Of course, the president will want the matter ended as soon as possible. Let us not allow ourselves to fall into a trap—a trap that consists of, perhaps, interests a group of politicians, perhaps in Warsaw there are a few dozen people who take great interest in such matters, maybe a few hundred people.... [Drzycimski changes thought] In other places in Poland, however, people are interested in real problems. Whether the problems of his or her plant will be resolved, whether he will have a job, whether he will have an opportunity to earn more money. Well, these are the real problems we are facing, and the president is focusing his attention primarily on such issues. The issue in question is being treated by him as a symptom of democracy, by the way, a very bad symptom. It is one nevertheless of the elements in our education. He hopes that the case, concerning him personally....[Drzycimski changes thought] Well, but let me say it once again, because it is sometimes forgotten. The president suggested, and appealed that all materials pertaining to him be published in its entirety so that discussions are ended because we are not making progress this way. We need other actions. Of course, these activities are simulated by those who bring up the subject. What they really do is make noise that does not inform about anything. For example, the case of chaplain Franciszek Cybula, the case of Minister Wachowski, the case of Minister Falandysz. I could also include other names, such as Minister Milewski. Please note one thing, however, all of these people are very closely connected to the president. It can be clearly seen that the attack.... [Drzycimski changes thought] I wonder when I will be attacked. So the purpose of the attack is to destroy the surroundings, in a way. There is nothing constructive about it, and there is nothing programmatic. It is an attempt to cause people to take to the streets, to create an atmosphere of a political demonstration, to state that our direction should be decided by such demonstrations. This is not the direction we have chosen; ours is the way of peaceful transformations. We can argue along the way, whether we do something well or badly. But, it has not happened yet that we wanted to destroy everything that we have achieved.

[Commentator] How did the Belweder [presidential residence] receive the demonstration organized by Jaroslaw Kaczynski?

[Drzycimski] The president, as you may know, was not at the Belweder. He was resting with his family. Minister Wachowski was at the Belweder. He walked among the demonstrators, and he was surprised that the effigy that was said to represent him did not bear much resemblance to him. One can see that those who organized the demonstration, the political leaders of the demonstration, became frightened by the phenomenon because they were not in control of the situation. As a result they woke up the old specters of anti-Semitism, hatred, and rage. Moreover, using the effigy of the president is probably seen as not very elegant even in a democracy. One can say that it epitomizes the lack of political intuition.

[Commentator] Did Minister Wachowski walk among the demonstrators and was not recognized? Did I hear you correctly?

[Drzycimski] No. He was within the perimeter of the Belweder. He went out to have a look at the demonstration which was allegedly also directed against him. The number of people that was said to be so large.... [Drzycimski changes thought] Because we did not see them in the flesh, we only saw what the television showed. I must say that as far as I know our conditions, the numbers must have been dreamed up by those who counted the crowd because there were really not so many people there. I think you were there and saw it.

[Commentator] How did the president react to the refusal of Professor Strzembosz and Minister Milczanowski?

[Drzycimski] Well, as I have said, the president took a step in order to expedite a solution to the matter. If Professor Strzembosz, as an authority for the president's adversaries, rejected the request, it means he felt that he would have had to give an unambiguous answer. This, perhaps, would not be the best thing to do in the game that is being played now. Consequently, the president did what he could. He is now waiting for the Sejm to make decisions concerning the review process. If the need arises, he is always ready to help. His office can help.

[Commentator] Yesterday, a Security Service officer called the Sejm to say that 44 volumes of files concerning Lech Walesa had been burned. The files were prepared for the lawsuit against Lech Walesa, not as president, but only as the head of trade unions at that time. Should there not be a special investigation as to who had given the order to burn these files?

[Drzycimski] You have just mixed up some facts. But, as they say, it is always that somewhere along the way there is some misinterpretation. First of all, this officer did not call the Sejm, he spoke with the president....

[Commentator, interrupting] He called the Belweder?

[Drzycimski] Yes, of course. He spoke with the president. He wanted to share his indignation at the whole campaign which is now being waged. He said that he had never spoken in public and wanted to stay in the background. Incidentally, the president only vaguely remembered what he looked like, but he did remember that such a man had appeared in his entourage. He did not even know him. It was difficult to know everyone because there were many of them. The man said he had collected materials on Lech Walesa since 1970. It turns out that the man who had interrogated Lech Walesa for the first time, in December 1970, is still alive. He may be reached by journalists and interviewed. The journalists could also find out more details. Generally speaking, according to him, there was a huge documentation concerning the issue called, and I emphasize: The issue of Bolek. This documentation consisted of several volumes and was destroyed in 1989. We cannot determine who had ordered it. Besides, we do not want to deal with this. It is a matter for the court of law. If the court, or the Sejm, or a Sejm committee want to interrogate this person, please feel free. He said he was at their disposal. He was prepared to make a statement under oath. He unequivocally stated that the nonsense he has heard truly annoyed him.

[Commentator] Now, why do you think the Security Service.... [Commentator changes thought] Well, although it is not you who should answer this question. Why did the Security Service....

[Drzycimski, interrupting] Well, you know, if the fact that you are directing....[Drzycimski changes thought] I had myself experienced, in similar situations, that some materials had been....[Drzycimski changes thought] But they are really of no interest to me.

[Commentator] But, why was the Security Service so inconsistent? Why did it burn 44 volumes....

[Drzycimski, interrupting] It is very simple, very simple indeed. The political arrangement was changing, and it discredited those who were collecting the evidence. They were collecting materials on everything Lech Walesa did, including whether he talked with his wife on the phone, and what he talked about. These were also his wife's phone calls. Well, everything that was related to the activities of Lech Walesa. They were, of course, primarily interested in his political activities. Out of this huge amount of information, documents related to political activities were taken in 1982. While Lech Walesa was interned, some kind of a political lawsuit was being prepared. He was to be charged with activities detrimental to the state. This was in the atmosphere surrounding martial law; we have to remember that it was the time of martial law. Then, 14 volumes were taken out of this great amount of files to be used as the basis for a political lawsuit. The plan was abandoned, however, and we do not know why. Anyway, at the time when the people in high places were changing, all the files were destroyed, burned. To make a long story short, this would be evidence of the activities of the Security Service. If we could publish these documents now, we would be able to stop dealing with Lech Walesa's past

and to eliminate any doubts. The documents would contain the various funny moments of the president's life as well. Apart from serious moments, there were also a lot of funny meetings.

[Commentator] Would you comment on the recent activities of Jaroslaw Kaczynski?

[Drzycimski] They are not serious. However, if someone takes up politics, he should be aware of the consequences of his actions. I understand that Jaroslaw Kaczynski is losing popularity, losing what he has achieved in politics, his party, his deputies' club, all of this must be frustrating to him. He is a politician who embarks on many activities, but he cannot complete them. It also seems that the current activity against Lech Walesa is his personal drama; a drama of a man who cannot find a niche for himself on the political scene. I am watching this with sadness, because I do not like to see such things, although I sometimes look at all of this with surprise. Also, with sadness because the Polish political scene does not have to produce such situations. We can argue, quarrel, but only as far as the program is concerned. But, we should not persuade people to take to the streets, we should not lead them to nowhere, or shout slogans that cannot be realized, or create a dangerous atmosphere. All of this leads directly to tensions which may cause unpredictable results. How can this end? Well, it may result in many things. For example, Jaroslaw Kaczynski will lose his party once again, because he has done so before. If one observes his activities, one can see that this happens to him now and then. However, this is, in a way, a political death of a first-rate politician. He becomes a second or third rate politician, because he can no longer be treated seriously. This is because he is a man who draws into [words indistinct] of a political quarrel, and responsible politicians are beginning to become afraid. This is a game which has exceeded certain limits. The proposal for the election, the presidential election and so on. We know what the Constitution says. So does he, perfectly well, because he is a lawyer and a deputy. He knows perfectly well what the rules are. Yesterday at the press conference he said that he wished the president good health, but he would like him to step down. At the same time, he implied that there could be a death of the president. This is a game which is not becoming a politician who wants to play some role in politics. Well, but I would say this is less important. Now, to be completely serious. For Jaroslaw Kaczynski, it could all end like this: Politically, he may cease to be a deputy. certainly in moral terms. For many people Jaroslaw Kaczynski is not a politician any longer; for frustrated people a new Tyminski may appear. It may happen. I think that he should act on the rules of the Boziewicz code: He should place the pistol, which he so often refers to, and do what he must do.

[Commentator] Thank you for the interview.

[Drzycimski] Thank you.

German Minority Offers Closer Cooperation

LD0502225493 Warsaw PAP in English 2213 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 5—A delegation from the parliamentary circle of Poland's German minority, headed by Sejm (lower house) deputy Henryk Kroll, met Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Friday [5 February], and expressed its willingness to seek closer cooperation with the coalition government.

According to the government press office, the German delegation expressed its satisfaction at existing legal guarantees of the right to German language teaching, and teaching in the German language, in Polish schools. However, the delegates were dissatisfied with the existing numbers of German language teachers.

Commenting on the relations between the German minority and the Polish state administration, the delegation called for reforms of the administrative structure to take account of the opinions of the inhabitants of a given area. The government side assured them that this would be the case throughout Poland, including Silesia.

The German minority's parliamentarians called for preferential treatment in amendments to the Polish electoral regulations, to ensure that the country's national minorities were accorded representation.

Henryk Kroll assured the prime minister that the German minority circle would back the government coalition in voting over the draft budget for 1993, and also pledged that the circle would cooperate more closely with the coalition. However, Kroll was doubtful whether it would be right for the German minority circle to join the coalition, since this might not be convenient for the government.

UOP 'Aware' of Uranium Purchase Offer

LD0702215293 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 7—The State Protection Office (UOP) had been aware of the offer to buy radioactive uranium from Poland before German television's programme about it, Head of the State Protection Office Jerzy Konieczny said in a TV interview on Sunday [7 February].

Konieczny stressed that success in his work means the liquidation of a whole group and not only a single criminal ring which may, sometimes, take more time. He added that several deals in which radioactive materials from the former Soviet Union were involved, ended up in court, though media did not give them much publicity.

Kazimerz C., deputy minister of culture in the years 1986-89 and his partner Waldemar M., who were filmed with a hidden camera in one of Warsaw hotels last December while discussing the radioactive uranium sale with German journalists posing as businessmen, were arrested on January 19. According to Konieczny the transfer of large amounts of radioactive materials does not run across Poland where only negotiations are usually held.

Melescanu Discusses Foreign Policy Strategy

AU0802080893 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 29-30 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Iulia Iorgulescu; place and date not given: We Will Choose Alternative Scenarios"]

[Text] [Iorgulescu] What are the defining characteristics of the strategy of Romanian foreign policy?

[Melescanu] At this point, we need a flexible strategy because we are living in a geographical zone where things are in motion. I know that I have repeatedly been accused of not having a clear and well-defined strategy regarding our foreign policy. I personally believe that in an area in which we do not know what is going to happen with our neighbor in the east, nor with the one in the west—I will limit myself only to them—we cannot continue the strategy of our foreign policy mathematically. Soon, within the Vacaroiu program we—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—will also present our viewpoints. I think that we will have to choose alternative scenarios or ways and means that can be rapidly adjusted to changes. An issue of the first order is European integration. On 1 February, Romania will sign the Common Market Association Accord—we have already concluded the accord on our participation in EFTA, we are members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, we participate in the activity of the West European Union, we are members of the CSCE, and we hope that this year we will be admitted to the Council of Europe with full rights.

Then we can discuss the second issue—relations with neighboring countries, and efforts to normalize them, especially with Hungary, Ukraine, Yugoslavia—whose problem should be solved only by Yugoslavia—and Bulgaria, with which we have no open questions. The third issue—subregional cooperation: the Black Sea, the Danube, and the countries belonging to the Central European Initiative—does not represent an alternative to our European integration, but a way to speed up the transition toward Europe. Finally, the last issue regards the opening up toward all countries in the world: participation in the United Nations, the development of relations with traditional partners, and especially the search for a concrete approach in these relations, which until 1989 were burdened by ideological aspects.

[Iorgulescu] Do you think that there has recently been a certain reticence in Romanian diplomacy? Especially in relations with the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Moldova?

[Melescanu] We cannot speak of "a certain reticence" in the sense of a deliberate attitude of ours in order somehow to hold back the natural course of diplomatic relations. We have not always been very aware of the gates that are being opened for us. We have to understand that this is a favorable time, that there are great opportunities and it would be a pity not to put them to use.... Let us take this chance, especially as it is being offered by Hungary.

[Iorgulescu] What is the plan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the Republic of Moldova? I am thinking of the accusation of interference in its domestic policy recently leveled by a daily.

[Melescanu] In connection with the Republic of Moldova, we cannot speak of basic changes in our position. I think that in the coming period we will have to continue more or less with our official stance of recognizing its status as an independent state. However, what will change, and we hope to demonstrate this in practice, is an acceleration of our actions to establish a single cultural area. We can talk about two independent Romanian states, but not about two distinctive cultural areas. We will place particular stress on the process of economic integration. Surely, these two aspects will positively influence political relations. However, it would be wrong to believe that this influence will happen promptly and automatically. There will be ups and downs, but the economic and cultural foundation is of particular importance. I would also like to emphasize that our efforts—by the government, the ministry, and other institutions—will not actually be able to solve relations with the Republic of Moldova unless people, private commercial companies, and the most varied organizations are involved as well. If we do not understand that this is not the goal of just one institution or government, but the goal of all Romanians, the pace of integration will be slow.

[Iorgulescu] What does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plan for Romania's integration in European and the North Atlantic structures?

[Melescanu] The number one objective is to set in motion the process of association with the Common Market. I have called it a priority objective because it relates not only to the process of strictly economic integration. More than half the provisions concern political consultations that have to be held, as well as cultural, financial, scientific-technical cooperation, and so forth. Let us not forget that we are going to join the structures of a system with well-established traditions and rules, which we have to know and observe. Certainly, we should not overlook the priority of Romania's actions within the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

[Iorgulescu] What are Romania's chances of recovering the more than $2 billion owed to it? To which we have to add, according to the latest data provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, more than $7 billion losses following the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia.

[Melescanu] This thorny problem of certain countries' debts to Romania will probably be solved in the course of time. The UN Charter stipulates that, in case of sanctions, countries which are affected by them will receive compensation. Unfortunately, a number of tangible mechanisms for granting such compensation have not been adopted or applied so far. The Foreign Ministry has prepared a memorandum in this respect; we will submit it to the UN General Assembly, but we need concrete support.

[Iorgulescu] Unfortunately, we have missed a favorable opportunity regarding Egyptian debts....

[Melescanu] Yes. I do not think we will ever have such an opportunity again. At the time, we did not correctly understand the advantages of the system of buying debts. We have to think of handling things differently, probably at the level of decisionmakers within the government, so as to avoid such situations.

Nastase Comments on Davos Forum Participation

AU0702211493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Messrs. Adrian Nastase, president of the Assembly of Deputies, and Misu Negritoiu, state minister and president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, returned to Bucharest this afternoon. They attended the meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos from 29 January to 3 February.

After the forum proceedings, Mr. Adrian Nastase met with representatives of international bodies in Geneva and with Swiss representatives in Bern, while Mr. Misu Negritoiu left for Paris where he conducted talks with dignitaries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), as well as with French officials.

In his statement to the press upon arriving, the president of the Assembly of Deputies, Mr. Adrian Nastase, commented on his participation in the Davos Forum and emphasized the idea that, more than ever before, we should not stand somewhere, quote: In a parking place, while people in Europe are rapidly moving toward the 21st century. This means that one has to understand the fact not to live isolated in Europe and not to lag behind the processes that are taking place, unquote.

Mr. Adrian Nastase emphasized, among other things, that the entire world is waiting for the new U.S. administration to define its position toward Europe and the current world situation.

Mr. Adrian Nastase also pointed out that the problem of European integration and unity is slightly frozen at this time, maybe because the elections in France and the referendum in Denmark are awaited. [passage omitted]

Iliescu Receives Palestinian Peace Negotiator

AU0602163293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1530 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/2/1993—Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, received Saturday, February 6, at Cotroceni Palace, Faysal al-Husayni, head of the consultative Palestinian delegation to the Arab-Israeli negotiations in Washington, on an informative visit in Romania now.

"Considering our good relations with Israel and the Arab countries, the Palestinians included, we welcome Mr. Al-Husayni, offer our good offices in the ongoing negotiations, a political solution being the only one viable in maintaining peace in the Near East. The tension created by the deportation of 415 Palestinians can be overcome by direct contacts between the two sides," mentioned the head of the Romanian state.

The Palestinian guest conveyed a message to President Iliescu from President Yasir 'Arafat, favouring the development of Romanian-Palestinian links.

Al-Husayni opined that the recent expulsion of 415 Palestinians from Israel was an obstacle in the negotiations held in Washington. In his opinion Romania was promoting a positive policy in this respect and mentioned that his country "expected support from Romania" to overcome the crisis.

Attending were Teodor Melescanu, minister of state, minister of foreign affairs; Traian Chebeleu, presidential adviser; Gheorghe Tinca, secretary of state at the Romanian Ministry of External Affairs, as well as (Fuad al-Bittar), ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Palestinian State in Bucharest.

Al-Husayni Views Peace Process

AU0702152193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Statement by Palestinian peace negotiator Faysal al-Husayni at a news conference in Bucharest on 6 February—recorded, in Arabic with superimposed translation into Romanian]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting with Romanian and foreign journalists was held at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by a Palestinian consultative delegation to the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations headed by Mr. Faysal al-Husayni, who was earlier received by President Ion Iliescu and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu.

We will now broadcast a passage of the statement made by Mr. Faysal al-Husayni at the opening of the news conference.

[Begin recording] I want to begin by expressing thanks to the responsible people in Romania for this visit. The Palestinian delegation was received by Romania's president and the minister of foreign affairs. We believe that the subjects discussed during the two meetings were important and very useful for both Romanian-Palestinian relations and for the peace process in the Middle East.

Our visit is taking place at a time when the peace process is really endangered. This made us believe that numerous states, including Romania, may play a positive role in giving an impetus to the peace process and in safeguarding it.

We believe that the historic relations linking Romania with the Middle East area, its positive relations with the PLO, as well as with Israel, may be a motive power for Romania to play a positive role in this peace process. We believe that Romania's role should not be limited solely to

political actions with a view to bringing our viewpoints closer, but should also include other areas such as the political or economic ones.

Along with the outset of the peace process, we began the reconstruction of the infrastructure in the occupied territories and we believe that Romania has experience and is able to cooperate with us in this area. We also believe that we, the Palestinians, have acquired proper knowledge about the state of affairs in the Middle East and the needs of the countries in this area, and this may offer Romania greater chances for cooperation and promoting advantageous economic exchanges between your country and the countries in the Middle East.

Existing relations between Romania and the PLO may contribute to a more effective role that Romania should play in the Middle East regarding the promotion of trade exchanges and economic links in general.

We are here, and our area is facing a great danger that threatens the peace process because of Israel's decision to expel 415 Palestinians. We rejected this move because it is at variance with human rights, international law, and Security Council Resolution 799. But, maybe the most important thing is that this decision by Israel is at variance with and against the rules and principles of the unfolding of the negotiations that are under way.

It is clear that these negotiations have demanded and continue to demand from both delegations—Palestinian and Israeli—to establish and decide that a solution has to be achieved solely through political talks and negotiations, and not by using other means such as the use of force, military means, or legal settlements that would modify the demographic nature in this area. [end recording]

Iliescu Accused of Ignoring Danube Issue

AU0802092593 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by Roxana Iordache: "The Danube Is About To Explode—The Supreme Commander Is Paying Working Visits"]

[Text] The situation of our country, which has to endure not only the material damage imposed by the embargo against Yugoslavia but also a situation that is more than delicate, provoked by the Serbian ships that have flagrantly violated the embargo and forced their way down the Danube, requires a more than responsible attitude from those who take the supreme decisions in the state. It is no exaggeration to say that any erroneous move can trigger not only a conflict between Romania and the former "neighboring and friendly country" but, given its international implications, a real world war. Only a spark is needed for the Danube to go up in flames.

In this appalling situation, we would have expected Ion Iliescu, who, according to the Constitution, is actually the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, to convene an emergency meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, to discuss wisely the best way to achieve peaceful solutions to this latent conflict. All this in order to defend ourselves! But what does Mr. Iliescu do instead?—He makes working visits; to Cernavoda on Thursday [28 January] and to Magurele on Friday [29 January]!

Unfortunately, we cannot avoid the assumption of a relationship between the presidential indolence of today and the amicable relations of yesterday with two presidents with totalitarian mentalities, Milosevic and Kravchuk. Nowadays, the president "of our tranquility" is giving us most serious cause for national apprehension. It is well known that heads of states with a totalitarian mentality can stay in power only by provoking and maintaining a state of conflict. In order to be reelected president, Milosevic did not hesitate to light the flames of nationalist extremism. In order to maintain an ally of the same communist origin, Kravchuk does not hesitate to violate the embargo on Yugoslavia. On the basis of common filiation, President Iliescu cannot justify certain—useless—"extraordinary measures" that he claimed as early as his investiture, without tolerating or even cultivating in fact a dangerous situation. This is against international law!

We can recall that in September 1991, Mr. Iliescu did not hesitate to proclaim dubiously a quasi-urgency state, and convene an emergency meeting of the Supreme Defense Council to decide that civilians should be fired on, an act that resulted in casualties. And today, when the immediate situation and the international situation require such a meeting, President Iliescu pretends that there are fireworks over the Danube and gives precious recommendations to the Romanian industry. Because any, God forbid, disastrous consequence, will make him directly responsible. And unfortunately it might be too late.

Communique Issued on 'Danube Crisis'

AU0502191493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The National Council of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] has sent us a communique related to the Yugoslav crisis.

After assessing the huge material losses caused by the spreading of the conflict—especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina—and mentioning its significant impact on Romanian economy, the communique asserts that, quote, the recent breach of the UN embargo on the Danube by vessels sailing under the Yugoslav flag have caused justified unrest and tension in that zone. The international pressure under which Romania was and is still being placed highlights the fact that attempts are being made to involve Romania in actions that go beyond the letter and spir[illegible] the documents of the UN Security Council. [illegible] That is why—supporting the position and the [illegible]en by the government in the spirit of the UN Se[illegible] Council resolutions for the strict observance of the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia—the FDSN requests that the executive and all Romanian authorities should act

prudently and with maximum responsibility in the solving of the, quote, Danube crisis, unquote.

The risk of Romania's involvement against its will in a possible conflict is still high, and that would have serious consequences on Romania and on international peace and security, the communique released by FDSN concludes.

Use of Force Against Embargo Violators Opposed

AU0602144893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1409 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/2/1993—"It is not in Romania's national interests to use force in consequence of Yugoslavia's breach of the embargo imposed on it, and, therefore, Romania has to refrain from using force, from escalating the conflict," writes the daily VREMEA. "Irrespective of the main actors of such a conflict, it would not serve the interests of Romania, of all the countries in this area, of peace in Europe," adds the said daily.

"The Romanians and the Serbs have never waged wars against each other. Their relations have been characterised by esteem, respect, cooperation, "writes VREMEA, which opines that "a demand coming from abroad to deteriorate the Romanian-Serbian ties can only be detrimental to Romania, to detente and peace. "We can no longer accept that others take decisions concerning our country. Romania has succeeded to institute a system of international relations based on the principle that it is Romania that decides on its policy, through its legal decisionmaking bodies. Today's Romania cannot accept that a White House, an international body, a centre abroad makes decisions for it. It has national decisionmaking institutions, i.e. a parliament, a government, a presidency. Romania cannot by any means act as a mercenary."

Danube Traffic Normal; FRY Ships Restricted

AU0602163593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1558 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/2/1993—The traffic on the Danube is running normally through the Iron Gates, traffic operator Cristian Marghescu told ROMPRES. The restrictions imposed on Yugoslav ships have not been lifted. None of the Yugoslav ships impounded on the Danube asked for free access on Saturday [6 February] until midday.

ROMPRES reminds that no Yugoslav ship sailed on the Danube last week, and no attempt was made to break the embargo.

After a 8-day detention in the Yugoslav port of Veliko-Gradiste, the Romanian ship Giurgiu-3, loaded with sugar, reached Friday, February 5, the first Romanian port. The captain of the ship mentioned that the Yugoslav authorities took the documents of the ship during the detention, but allowed the crew to phone their families.

Vacaroiu Views Economic Issues, FRY Embargo

AU0502134493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1327 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/2/1993—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu assesses in an interview to weekly ROMANUL [the ROMANIAN] as "totally groundless" the statements of those who accuse the government of immobilism.

Quite on the contrary, he says, "the government's start was particularly strong." He substantiates this with some of the main achievements of his governmental team since it took office a month and a half ago: approval of more than 150 government decisions and about 50 bills, completion of the project of reorganization of the ministries, designing of the a detailed governing strategy to be shortly submitted to the Parliament plus the multitude of difficult current problems, the analyses at the government, in enterprises, at the level of ministries, negotiations with representatives of international organizations, etc.

"Everything we have done in point of legislation—he pointed out—is in line with the continuation of the reform and acceleration of the privatisation process."

In his interview Premier Vacaroiu even suggests a list to the Parliament comprising the laws that should be discussed and adopted with priority, as they "have a direct influence on the reform process" (the commercial credit, the revenue tax, the VAT [value-added tax], the excises, the status of the public employee, environment protection, a solution to the issue of the state expropriations for the national public interest end others). In the same context Premier Vacaroiu informed that by February 15 the government would have a final draft of the budget for 1993.

About the detailed governing programme, Nicolae Vacaroiu agreed with those who said it would be an austerity one. "The government's programme is an anti crisis one and sets itself the ambitious goal of stopping the fall in material production in the first part of 1993, steadying it in the second part and relaunching it at the beginning of 1994" he said.

Despite the fact that a lot of people, and especially the opposition, are pessimistic about the possibility to implement such a programme, the Romanian premier expressed his optimism, based on a number of signs in the evolution of the economy. "It stands to reason—he argues—that the measures we are implementing today do not show effects tomorrow. When it comes to restructuring the industry for instance, any measure shows effects only later on."

Mr. Vacaroiu denied the rumors about a dispute between the government and the National Bank. On the contrary, he said, collaboration between the two partners has proved efficient and many problems have been dealt with.

Premier Vacaroiu also answered a question about Romania's stand on the latest developments in the crisis on the Danube. "We have had a consistently good relationship with Yugoslavia for a long time, including economic

cooperation. Romania loses a great deal because of the embargo" he said. But he reminded that the resolution of the Security Council compelled all states—and particularly those riparian to the Danube—to take measures to prevent any attempt to breach the embargo. It is very easy, he said, to cast an "it is not being observed" ignoring Romania's having consistently acted according to the principles of the UN embargo. However, it can not afford to resort to the ultimate procedure—opening fire, as the effects would be disastrous for the whole geographical area.

Vacariou on Reform; Relations With EC, Serbia

93BR7066 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 3 Feb 93 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, by Michel Rosten; place and date not given: "Romania Invites United Nations into Ukraine Ports"]

[Text] *Prime Minister Vacaroiu tells LA LIBRE BELGIQUE that in this way the embargo against Serbs will be respected.*

Nicolae Vacaroiu was appointed Romanian prime minister on 4 November [1992]. Nine days later, he presented his 22-member administration. Eleven of them belonged to the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front], the movement whose leader is President Iliescu. Mr. Vacaroiu kindly agreed to give an interview to LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, which is reproduced below.

[Rosten] On Monday you signed the association agreement with the EC. This document contains a restrictive clause whereby the EC reserves the right to annul the treaty in the event that human rights are not respected. Romania feels this clause to be discriminatory. Do you fear that it might be applied?

[Vacaroiu] The political provisions included in the association agreement concerning democracy, human rights, and minorities do not pose a problem for Romania, since all of these conditions have been fully met by my country thus far. The Constitution has seen to this. I should say, in fact, that the rights and guarantees granted to minorities in Romania exceed international standards.

[Rosten] We have just learned, however, that Doina Cornea has been summoned to appear before the Bucharest district attorney.

[Vacaroiu] This is not a legal proceeding, nor is she being charged. Rather, it is a question of procedure to verify the depositions made against her.

[Rosten] The opposition blames the government for not having progressed with economic reform since you took office. What is your response?

[Vacaroiu] In any democratic country, it is the role of the opposition, whose main leaders I have met, to criticize the government. The very fact that people are criticizing me means that I am on the right path. To give you an example of the efforts made since I became prime minister, I would emphasize that we have prepared more than 50 bills on economic reform. These bills have already been submitted to Parliament.

We also worked out a sweeping program to expand the methods and solutions required by the privatization process. On 20 February, the government will submit a detailed program of its reform and privatization strategy for the next four years. Over the past two months, my cabinet has prepared more than 200 regulations aimed at plugging gaps and correcting malfunctions in the reform process. In addition, the recent discussion which I had with the IMF [International Monetary Fund] mission in Bucharest, to whom I presented the reform, went off without a hitch.

[Rosten] There are currently one million unemployed people in Romania. Surely this leads to excessive social tension?

[Vacaroiu] These one million unemployed people represent 8.4 percent of the active population. This situation can be traced back to the beginning of the economic restructuring and the serious problems which emerged in national industry. We have finalized a social security system for the unemployed which works well. Moreover, we are thinking of reorienting the available labor force toward the private sector—which is growing in size—and departments which, in Romania, employ four or five times fewer people than in the developed countries.

[Rosten] Romania has an important role to play in the crisis in the former Yugoslavia since it controls the mouth of the Danube and since the Serbs use the river to get around the embargo. How do you feel about the pressure placed on you by the international community to make you comply with the embargo?

[Vacaroiu] We have already sent a highly detailed report to the Security Council. Romania is using all the means prescribed by the United Nations to ensure that the embargo is complied with. Of course, there is a final solution: opening fire on Yugoslav ships. However, if we were to apply this solution, Romania would run the risk of suffering irreparable damage and an ecological disaster in the delta. Romania must also take into account that more than 20 towns take their water supplies from the river. We asked the Security Council to send an aid mission to the Ukrainian ports where Serb ships and barges are loaded. Romania, which wishes to take all steps to ensure that the embargo is complied with, will intensify its relations with the countries bordering the river, especially Bulgaria.

[Rosten] Will Romania be ready to receive the UN peacekeeping forces on its territory if the United Nations decides to back up the embargo?

[Vacaroiu] Yes!

PRM Head on Moldova, Intraparty Dissent

AU0502185493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Representatives of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], including members of the Steering Body and parliamentarians of that party, have held their weekly news conference today.

Talking about Moldova, PRM President Corneliu Vadim Tudor assessed that currently we are witnessing Stalinist forces' efforts to re-establish the former Soviet Union. Related to that issue, PRM considers that Romanian diplomacy has to undertake firm steps to convince the United Nations and the Council of Europe that Bessarabia [Moldova] and Bukovine [currently in Ukraine] are Romanian territories.

Concerning a possible referendum to be organized in the Republic of Moldova, Corneliu Vadim Tudor said that such a referendum would be dishonest and immoral.

There is no dissent whatsoever within PRM, Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor also said.

Statistics Show Economic Production Decline

AU0702212093 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 3 Feb 93 p 1

[Article by Ilie Stefan: "Economy—From Bad to Worse]

[Text] From the abundance of data provided yesterday during the news conference organized by the National Statistics Commission, one thing became clear: Last year, the Romanian economy went from bad to worse. The results in industry, agriculture, trade, and services were below last year's level, and the figures for 1991 were below those of 1990. In concrete terms, this means that in 1992, compared with the previous year, industrial production was 21.8- percent lower; agricultural production, 9.2 percent; the sales of products through the itemized trade network, 17.5 percent; and the volume of services, 2.3-percent lower than the previous year. Likewise, labor productivity and the rate of utilizing production capacities also decreased. The trade balance concluded with a deficit of $938 million, with the budgetary deficit at 195.2 billion lei. As a result, the national gross product, which according to estimates is 5.450 billion lei, is also 15-percent lower than the previous year.

The decline of the economy generated a number of negative phenomena in all areas of social life. The number of unemployed almost doubled; the annual inflation rate was above the level of the preceding year; the real income of various groups of people decreased, while the purchase power and consumption also weakened.

As far as the process of organizational restructuring of the economy is concerned, from a statistical point of view things are not quite that bad: Last year the private sector contributed more than 25 percent to the national gross product, compared to the 21.5-percent contribution made the previous year. An increasingly accelerated pace of privatization took place in the fields of trade and services. In industry, the private sector unfortunately has only a 2 percent share. Thus, the overall development of the Romanian economy was greatly affected by the important decline of the industrial output, which continues to play the greatest role in the structure of the national gross product.

Daily Warns of U.S. Hesitation To Support Plan

LD0602144193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1317 GMT 6 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 6 (TANJUG)—The hesitation of the United States (U.S.) to give its support to the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina plays into the hands of hardliners and those who cherish the illusion that it is possible to restore the Bosnia-Hercegovina which existed a year ago, including primarily Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Saturday [6 February].

"The objectives of a possible military intervention are today even more hazy than yesterday after Bosnian Serbs accepted the Vance-Owen peace plan and having in mind the peacemaking course of Belgrade which is evident in its impressive restraint following Croatia's attack on Krajina, Serb territories which are protected by the United Nations," POLITIKA said.

Pressure on one side only and the often mentioned U.S. stand that the embargo on arms exports to Bosnian Moslems should be lifted show the lack of logic in the idea that peace can be established by continuing war in the former central Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"This only goes to show once again that the problem in Bosnia-Hercegovina and former Yugoslavia cannot be resolved by taking sides," said the daily in its commentary.

"New realistic stands and additional doses of political pragmatism are necessary, and yet it would be difficult to fit them into the unprecedented show of force—with very vague objectives and in the immediate zone of the conflict—of as many as three aircraft carriers and a more than impressive escort fleet in the waters of the Adriatic," POLITIKA concluded.

Commentary Views Clinton Role in Peace Process

AU0502181493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Commentary by Zoran Pirolic]

[Text] The debate in the UN Security Council on the Bosnia-Hercegovina tragedy is, in a way, setting a precedent in the history of that respectable body of international politics, but it is certainly not the [word indistinct] to have a bite finally at the bitter Bosnian apple. Europe has shown itself incapable of solving the problems in its own backyard [words indistinct] and the irony is that such a complex decision has landed on the shoulders of a man who has an extremely modest experience with foreign politics, and who spent the last 10 years as the governor of Arkansas, a place from which global problems are not seen in the clearest possible light.

Neither Clinton nor the people around him have shown too much enthusiasm for the Vance-Owen plan, which might be the best possible plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, but only because it is the only one. If Clinton's administration offers some changes [words indistinct] and such defining of the transitional period that would not abolish the legal authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is a member of the United Nations and many other international organizations.

It is hard to believe that the Americans could fall for Karadzic's [Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president] proposal for some new kind of Camp David type of meeting, which would solve the Bosnia-Hercegovina enigma. No person of political authority in Clinton's administration would sit at the same table with a man whom Laurence Eagleburger placed at the top of the list of war criminals. The American officials do not draw up such lists without extremely good reason, and that is why it is no wonder that Karadzic can view the city only from within a few blocks from the UN building.

The American reluctance to define more clearly their views on the political process for the solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina drama does not mean that, as some have rushed to explain, the Geneva plan is dead. Geneva could still turn out to be an important city for the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Policies are the expression of interests and the product of the balance of power, and there is no clear interest nor is there a balance of power to end the Bosnian nightmare with a military operation like the one in the Gulf, or even in Somalia. Russia, China, Great Britain, and to some extent France are against such an operation, therefore, four out of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and it is still not clear what the new American attitude toward it is.

According to many hints, the current discussion on the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina could end with the adoption of yet another Security Council resolution that would give full support to the political solution to the crisis, hint at new sanctions against Serbia if it does not cooperate, threaten with ambiguous and undefined military measures and so on in a similar tone of voice, with perhaps a few stronger words than have appeared in previous resolutions. All in all, just a bit more of the same thing, without any real effort at stopping the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Only the new American President can change and radicalize this monotonous and extremely sterile series of measures, and his say on Bosnia-Hercegovina is still expected.

Izetbegovic on UN Talks, 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD0602184693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] [Announcer] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, today held a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists. Most questions referred to a possible outcome of the negotiations in the UN Security Council and ways out of the war for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Our editor Predrag Smoljanic prepared a report:

[Smoljanic] The beginning of the news conference showed that the journalists were most interested in Alija Izetbegovic's answer to the question of what he expected from the UN Security Council session and whether he is optimistic or pessimistic in that respect.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] If we do not take Bosnia-Hercegovina and us here into account as the crucial factor—because no one can forget that things are being solved here—we are looking toward the world and what is happening there too much. The problem is being solved here—in Bosnia-Hercegovina. If, therefore, we do not take this into account, which is the most important thing, then the position of the new U.S. Administration is crucial. The position of the new U.S. Administration is a crucial issue. We, of course, still do not know what their position is.

Our main argument in the defense of our concept is what we call a bloody argument, the argument of ethnic cleansing. This is not (?logic) or economy, this is the so-called bloody argument. We cannot pass over that argument. We believe that this argument cannot be ignored under any circumstances. Would you like me to explain that argument, which we call the bloody argument, once again? The question is whether ethnic cleansing will be legalized, whether we will implement the maps which legalize it. That is the question.

Things have become very clear. Those who want to accept the maps, those who put their hands up at the voting in the Security Council—and that question will be on the agenda soon, the moment will come when the Security Council will have to vote, they will have to put their hands up or down and say no or say yes—those who put their hands up and say yes, in our opinion, will vote for the practice of ethnic cleansing. They will legalize [word indistinct] of ethnic cleansing, the use of force in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and will thus create a dangerous precedent for the future. Not only will that be dangerous for Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that is a dangerous precedent for the future. This can then happen anywhere in the world.

Seeing that this is such an important thing, I would like to note three aspects of that issue, of the so-called argument of ethnic cleansing. The moral aspect, because that would mean the acceptance, the legalization, of crime. The legal aspect—because that would mean the acceptance of something contrary to Security Council Resolution No. 702 and others, and to the decisions of the London conference, which also specified that the results of ethnic cleansing will not be accepted. And finally, the practical aspect, which is the most important for us here. Our nation, which is dispersed throughout the world, will not be able to return to its homes. This is the most important issue for us.

I cannot say at the moment whether I am optimistic or pessimistic. I am awaiting the position of the new U.S. Administration to be revealed, which is still unknown to me. [end recording]

[Smoljanic] As the peace negotiations on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been transferred to the UN Security Council, one question referred to the Geneva documents which Bosnia-Hercegovina does not accept, and its main objections.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We have not accepted the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the organization—we do not like the word "division" because it reminds us of [words indistinct]. We have accepted in principle the concept of the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 provinces. We would not like a division into some kind of three units or provinces, or a division between three nations, but a division into 10 provinces is acceptable. What is not acceptable are the borders of the provinces. That is what we dispute. We demanded that they should be corrected, at least taking into account our objections to ethnic cleansing. You know that according to the offered solution, the armies would for a while remain in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Two or three armies would remain until further notice. Three armies would remain in Bosnia-Hercegovina until demilitarization. They should later disappear through the processes of demilitarization. We do not know how long these processes will last.

But according to our plan, the process of demilitarization will begin now by placing heavy artillery under international control. The main element of the demilitarization would start immediately. This is a very important element on which we insist. It would acquire a realistic aspect. If heavy artillery is withdrawn and placed under international control, the demilitarization would begin in a realistic way and acquire a realistic aspect. This is one of the points of one of those documents—the military document. We did not sign the document just because the point referring to heavy artillery was not defined specifically enough. It was mentioned, but its definition was not clear enough. If the point was redefined so that it is completely unambiguous, we would be able to sign the military paper in addition to the principles which (?we have signed).

But as I said, even if this is done, the armies—without heavy artillery—will remain until further notice. And we do not accept that even temporarily the ethnically cleansed areas should remain under the control of the army which [words indistinct]. We therefore asked for the maps to be corrected in five areas in which ethnic cleansing has been carried out. [end recording]

[Smoljanic] As is already known, U.S. President Bill Clinton said he would not accept the Vance-Owen plan if it is not signed by all sides. Therefore, President Izetbegovic was directly asked whether he would sign the document, and why he did not go to New York.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We are not going to sign the plan in this form; in this form without essential corrections it is unacceptable. I did not go to New York for two reasons: First, our arguments are completely clear and Dr. Silajdzic [Bosnian foreign minister] can represent them without any great problems as the foreign minister. Second, I am dutybound to stay in the country. I cannot be absent for days, an inappropriately long period of time away from this country. Messrs Vance and Owen have only

that job to do, you know; I am president of the Presidency of this country. Finally, I hold that our problem can be settled here. [end recording]

[Smoljanic] Another question was as follows: What will happen if the U.S. President gives his support for, and the UN Security Council accepts, the Vance-Owen plan. Has this possibility been examined?

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Yes, a very difficult situation will arise. Some commissions here have been examining this question as a possibility which we may have to face. But, we do not expect something like that to happen. We [passage indistinct]. With some modifications, of course, with some things modified in these documents, it may be acceptable. But, we have been examining this possibility and that is all I can tell you in this regard. [end recording]

[Smoljanic] In line with the development of the current situation, foreign journalists asked President Izetbegovic whether he is disappointed with the Western countries and what his present views of Islamic fundamentalism are.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I have never been a fundamentalist, I have been a Muslim and I remain so; that is sufficient for me. But I think this is a postulate which is used to stir the international public opinion against Bosnia-Hercegovina, a claim that a fundamentalist state is being created here.

Our views were known, particularly mine: I very clearly and frequently said what I thought about the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Now I can say that it is precisely those who accused me of creating a Muslim state that wanted to create a Muslim state here, not me. They wanted to create a Serb republic on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina—one side—the other side wanted to create a Croatian community, which is also a state community, on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and then what remains would be a kind of a little Muslim state on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They wanted the Muslim state, not me. I advocated a civil Bosnia-Hercegovina; I can only accept accusations that I wanted a civil Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

[Smolanjic] At the conclusion of the news conference journalists again wanted to hear President Izetbegovic's assessment of Vance and Owen's mediating role in peace negotiations on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the presentation of their maps which, in the mind of numerous journalists, was a signal both to the Serbs and Croats for further ethnic cleansing of territories.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] The current map is not a purely ethnic map. The ethnic criterion was prevailing, we accepted that the ethnic principle plays some influence when the map is drawn up, that is all right and it should be the case provided that also other criteria are taken into consideration in this regard. Moreover, the current map has its good side in that it does not accept ethnic, national names for these communities, for these provinces. It was expressly stressed that the provinces will not have ethnic names. Some might consider this a mere formality, but it is not a formality, so that the provinces will be called the province of Travnik, Banja Luka, Mostar, etc. We will not have new names. This is a good side of the solution.

I could not accept the somewhat serious accusations against Vance and Owen that in that way they sent an indirect message to the nations here to carry out ethnic cleansing on the basis of these maps. I hold that it is a very serious accusation and obviously it was not their intention. They simply tried to salvage the conference and in order to achieve that, they made concessions to the stronger side. We kept on telling them not to try to salvage the conference but rather to try to salvage Bosnia. They made concessions to the stronger side. That is the gist of the problem; it was not their objective to divide Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is my conviction; but they simply made concessions to the side they deem more powerful and that is a condition to achieve peace. The problem is that in making these concessions, in our mind, they went too far. Nothing can be achieved without compromises, but it is a question of where the limits of compromise lie. They thought they did not overstep the acceptable limits. Peace will be achieved through a compromise, nobody will get everything. None of the sides will be able to achieve a quick military victory, and dictate conditions on these bases. This means that the war would last quite a long time if one side wanted a victory. There is a kind of balance; if we want peace soon, we will have to accept a compromise, but the question is, what kind of a compromise will it be? [end recording]

Izetbegovic Discusses Peace Talks

AU0402183593 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Goranka Juresko; at the Hotel Esplanade in Zagreb; date not given: "A Talk With Nambiar Before the Trip to New York"]

[Text] [Juresko] Do you fear that the termination of the Geneva negotiations might result in the withdrawal of the UN Peace Forces from Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] No, except in the case if the peace forces were to suffer numerous casualties.

[Juresko] Why did Mate Boban [Bosnian Croat leader] refuse to sign your announced joint statement about how to solve the conflicts between the Croats and the Muslims?

[Izetbegovic] Boban and myself spent almost three hours discussing these conflicts. I offered him my wider version of the joint statement that he refused to sign, so we had to limit it to an appeal to the armies to stop all hostilities. With my version of the text, I wanted to help eliminate the reasons for the conflicts, which arise out of mutual mistrust and the Muslims' conviction, in the Travnik province for example, that they will be dominated by one people. Since Boban accepted the Geneva document that states the

equality of peoples in all of Bosnia-Hercegovina's provinces and the ways in which they are to be governed, I proposed that this portion of the document be included in our joint statement. However, Boban refused to sign such a statement, and only he can tell you why. I believe that the conflicts would have stopped had we been successful with this statement.

[Juresko] Considering the termination of the Geneva negotiations, do you believe that peace is possible in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] Every war ultimately ends in peace, so this one will, too. However, at the moment, I really do not see how this war will end. We thought that with our proposals, which are full of compromises, we could satisfy all sides. The real way is to respect all the resolutions of the international community (752 and 757) and the decisions of the London conference. Otherwise I do not see how we will achieve peace on this territory. The latest negotiations have somewhat blurred the impression of what is really going on in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that we are dealing with Serbia and Montenegro's aggression on an independent state. If the conflict is viewed from this perspective, then the problem will be solved.

[Juresko] How would you comment on Karadzic's [Serbian Republic of Bosnia president] proposal that control of Sarajevo be handed to the UN forces? Is this only propaganda?

[Izetbegovic] Today, Sarajevo is under our control. This is not just propaganda. The goal is to remove this control, so that one day they can easily come into Sarajevo, something they cannot do now.

[Juresko] Are you counting on the possibility of new U.S. President Clinton sending his forces to Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] We are not counting on this possibility. After all our experiences, we are counting on ourselves. According to Article 51 of the UN Charter, our right to defense is internationally justified, so we hope that the international community will help us in this. Namely, we cannot defend ourselves because we have an embargo on weapons imports. The only thing we ask is that it be lifted. There is no need for others to come and die for us; our boys are ready to fight.

[Juresko] How would you define the conflict between the Muslims and the Croats? Can this grow into a conflict of two peoples?

[Izetbegovic] Certain forces of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] are trying to create a state within a state in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that is the real reason for the conflict. This is not a conflict of peoples, it is not our concept but the HVO's. I am disagreeably surprised at the way in which HTV [Croatian Television] satanizes the Muslim people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is an absolute lie that the Croatian people are threatened and that there is killing. Who needs such propaganda? It would be best to ask for reports on these occurrences from neutral parties, instead of relying on only one source of information.

Since this campaign started, not one of us could come here to explain what was really going on there. Unfortunately, only one type of reporter is allowed to speak on HTV and to explain the reasons for the conflicts. We have information that not one single Croatian woman nor child was killed in these conflicts. Sadly, half the nation believes this because they do not know the truth. We need a neutral committee to solve these conflicts. In my letter to President Tudjman, a letter which, with the exception of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, not one Croatian newspaper published, nor did HTV or Croatian Radio broadcast it, I proposed to him that we go to Prozor together and find out for ourselves what is really going on there. Contrary to this, Sarajevo Television broadcast Tudjman's letter three times. Those who are not afraid of the truth will publish my letter.

[Juresko] How will you react if the international community decides to put Bosnia-Hercegovina under protectorate? When discussing weapons with General Nambiar [UNPROFOR commander], will you bear in mind Croatia's experience in handing over control of the weapons to the international community? Do you talk in the same critical way to Bosnia-Hercegovina's reporters, too?

[Izetbegovic] A protectorate is one of the options, and it is not the worst one. However, I am not authorized to make such a big decision on my own.

Croatia's recent experience in the so-called Krajina, is a warning to us that we must seek out more efficient ways in which the United Nations can control the heavy artillery. I want to stress that Bosnia-Hercegovina supports and will always support the operation of the Croatian forces, because it is Croatia's right to implement sovereignty over the whole territory.

You know yourself that reporters fall into two categories: those that are more or less objective, and those that go to certain places for their opinions. I had similar conversations with our reporters. If this means anything to you, Tudjman's letter was broadcast several times on radio and television, although it does not express the best opinion of Bosnia-Hercegovina's authorities. However, that did not bother us.

[Juresko] Did you get the impression that the joint chairmen, Vance and Owen, support the coalition between the Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] I would not say that this was support, but their advice to us was to overcome the problems, and they offered their worthy favors in the hope that this would lead to a success of the conference. Namely, they were more interested in saving the conference than Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is my impression.

[Juresko] Sanctions have been proposed against those who do not accept the Geneva proposal. Do you expect them?

[Izetbegovic] No, we are not expecting sanctions of any kind. It is impossible to bring sanctions against those who request that the UN Security Council resolutions be observed, resolutions that prohibit ethnic cleansing as a means of gaining advantage. The maps promote this, and that is why we are not expecting sanctions. There is only one problem with these maps: No one can expect us to allow Prijedor to remain in chetnik hands, and no one will be able to defend this in front of the world. That was only possible within the four walls of the Geneva conference.

I am not happy that things were not solved in Geneva and that they are now going before the Security Council, but we can defend our position because it is clear—we do not recognize results gained through ethnic cleansing.

Izetbegovic Refuses Partition, Criticizes West

NC0802063393 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2245 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Cairo, 7 Feb (MENA)—Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic has emphasized that he absolutely refuses the partitioning of Bosnia into 10 parts because this would mean the end of Bosnia, which is what the Serbian aggressors desire.

In a statement to the newspaper AL-AHRAM which to be published in its Monday [8 February] edition, Izetbegovic said this partition, which was offered at the Geneva negotiations, is not in the interests of the Muslims because it gives the Serbian aggressors the right to control the area in which they committed crimes of ethnic cleansing. He added that it also runs counter to the UN resolutions and the London conference resolutions. He noted that it is very difficult to reach a peaceful settlement of the Bosnia tragedy with the current Serbian leaders.

Izetbegovic called on the Arab and Islamic world to insist on abolishing the ban on exporting arms to Bosnia so it can defend its people, who are exposed to attempts of collective annihilation. He said: We do not need fighters, but we need arms to defend Bosnia. He noted that the Bosnian people will continue to defend their land until victory. He stressed that the Islamic world must not repeat the Palestinian tragedy in Europe. He noted that the world public supports the Bosnian people's right to defend their land, "but the governments have another view." He said that Germany and the United States have adopted a close stand on the events in Bosnia, whereas Britain does not support this stand and France wants a compromise.

Izetbegovic said the Western countries betrayed Bosnia and allowed a European people in central Europe to be exposed to collective extermination because they are Muslims. The only move the West made was to pass resolutions that did not help Bosnia very much.

AL-AHRAM noted that Serbian forces shelled the Presidential Palace in Sarajevo while the interview with President Izetbegovic was in progress, and three artillery shells fell near the palace, killing two civilians and injuring seven others.

Izetbegovic Warns Plan Would Prolong War

AU0602143793 Paris AFP in English 1417 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 6 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic warned Saturday [6 February] that the year-old civil war here would drag on if the U.N. Security Council endorsed a peace plan rejected in Geneva.

The plan, brokered by negotiators Cyrus Vance, representing the United Nations, and Lord Owen, representing the European Community, was accepted by Croat representatives but rejected by the Bosnian Government and local Serb leaders.

The government and the Serbs accepted constitutional proposals, but rejected demilitarisation plans and a map that would have divided the country into 10 semi-autonomous provinces.

Izetbegovic, who is a Moslem, as are more than 40 percent of Bosnians, told reporters at a press conference that he was waiting to see the details of an alternative plan being drawn up by the administration of U.S. President Bill Clinton.

He praised Vance and Owen for their efforts, but said they had gone "too far" in making concessions to the Serbs, and had been trying to save the peace conference, rather than Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic said 100 people were dying from starvation every day in eastern Bosnia—a claim that has not been backed up by U.N. officials or relief workers here—but said Bosnia-Hercegovina could withstand the "aggressors" indefinitely.

"Neither side can achieve a quick military victory," he said.

Izetbegovic accepted that compromises must be made by all sides, but flatly rejected the Vance-Owen map, although accepting the principle that the country be divided into 10 provinces.

He said his government had suggested five changes to the map, and wanted it spelled out more clearly in the demilitarisation document that all heavy weapons should be placed under international control.

In answer to a question, he said the moment had not come for an appeal for international brigades to fight alongside the mainly Moslem Bosnian army.

If the United Nations voted in favour of the Vance-Owen plan, he said, those who raised their hands would be voting for "the bloody argument" of ethnic cleansing, "and the war would continue."

Ganic Rejects Peace Plan as Surrender to Serbs

AU0602135993 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2104 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by Robert Hochner in Vienna—live, Ganic answers in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Mr. Vice President, why do the Muslims in Bosnia reject the Vance-Owen plan, which would give them three regions?

[Ganic] I am vice president of all Bosnian citizens. I am not tied to one specific ethnic group. The Vance-Owen plan is not acceptable for all Bosnian citizens because it does not give all citizens equal opportunities. It does not guarantee and provide possibilities for the refugees to return to their homes. Therefore, it indirectly legitimizes ethnic cleansing. At the same time, it does not call for the destruction or the withdrawal of arms from Bosnia.

[Hochner] Do you believe that under the pressure of the U.S. Administration under Bill Clinton, the Bosnian Muslims in particular, which have been the losers of the war so far, will get a better peace settlement?

[Ganic] Well, it is not a question of bargaining for a better solution. There are certain things that we as the elected legal government of Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot accept. We cannot accept a double standard within Bosnia. We cannot have citizens that have privileges, and others that are underprivileged. I think the plan should provide an opportunity for everyone to lead a normal life, and an opportunity for the country can function as a normal country.

These divisions into ethnic groups and regions are becoming more marked, and Serbian nationalists are now carrying out procreation in the regions where they have the majority. The plan indicates that the country will consist of 10 regions. Most of them will be ethnically clean. There will, for instance, be 100 percent Serbs in many of the regions. Such a country cannot function. Who is going to invest in this country tomorrow? How is transport to be organized, how is the communications system to be organized, and so on. If we accept this plan, it will be the first step toward the destruction of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

For historical reasons, for the sake of justice to all those who elected us, we must tell the international community that we can only accept a plan that guarantees equal opportunities for all citizens. This is not the case now. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen are trying to design a house that will collapse before they have run away.

[Hochner] Nevertheless, do you have to consider that you will be forced to accept this plan or a similar peace plan because the option of military intervention by the West is apparently very small?

[Ganic] Well, we do not really count on military intervention. We have to find our own means and fight. We Bosnians have no alternative. We cannot accept a plan that does not bring justice to all people because we do not have the authority to do so. We cannot accept something that the people reject. We must be honest and open to the international community, and that is what we are. If the international community tells us that the Serbian nationalists have weapons, whereas we have no weapons, that they are stronger than we are, then we will have to tell the international community that it would be capitulation, that it would be the assumption and recognition that the new order does not have a chance. In that case, the Bosnians will not be the only losers. There will be many losers in Eastern Europe and the whole world.

Here we have a case that will really determine the direction and influence stability in Europe. We are forced to negotiate on ethnic cleansing. We are forced to negotiate on concentration camps. These are crimes against humanity at the beginning of the 21st century. We are forced to negotiate with war criminals. This is not just our case.

The crimes in Bosnia, the raping of 40,000 women—this is not just a Bosnian case, it is something that the international community must consider and discuss because if soldiers are instructed to rape women—and that has been the main policy—this is something that the world needs to think about. The Yugoslav Army is a huge army, it is too big, it is a massive army. We built this army over 50 years, this monster, and as long as this army exists there will be no stability in the region.

[Hochner] Mr. Vice President, thank you for this interview and your visit.

Says Plan Legitimizes 'Ethnic Cleansing'

AU0502175293 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Report by Alfred Schwarz; Ganic statements in English with preceding summary in German]

[Text] [Bosnian Vice President] Ejup Ganic is considered to be a more radical Muslim politician than his superior, President Izetbegovic. Ganic does not see the prospect of a solution at the negotiating table on the basis of the Owen-Vance peace plan, which envisages the ethnic division of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Begin Ganic recording] I am very much worried about the fact that some countries are not really well informed that the present plan of Mssrs. Vance and Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen] does not really provide conditions for our people, for our refugees to return to their homes. Of course, so the ethnic cleansing is being legitimized in many areas. Of course, we do not see the way—according to that plan—that the heavy weapons will be removed from Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

His government continues to rely on a multiethnic concept. He hopes that the United States will change its attitude. The decisive thing is to stop the aggression of the Serbian army. As long as this big elephant continues to exist, the killing in the Balkans will continue, Ganic says.

The Muslims now seem to be wholly relying on the United States and have come out against the Owen-Vance plan. Obviously, in addition to an initiative to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia-Hercegovina, they also expect military intervention by the United States. However, this hope does not seem to be very realistic.

Silajdzic Outlines Prerequisites for Peace

NC0602212693 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 25 Jan 93 p 12

[Report by Fatih Ozbatur: "Peace Cannot Be Established Before a Cease-Fire Agreement"]

[Text] Geneva—Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic has said that peace cannot be established in Bosnia and Croatia before a cease-fire agreement is put into effect. In a statement to HURRIYET in Geneva, where a peace conference is being held on Yugoslavia, Silajdzic said: "The question of placing heavy arms under control should have been discussed before talks were held on the constitutional principles and map. Bloodshed continues while we discuss peace. How can we expect to establish peace under these conditions?"

Silajdzic also said that Bosnians did not wish to abandon hope for peace, adding that they would support every opportunity that could strengthen their hope. Stressing that the Croatian attacks on the Serbs have created a difficult situation in the peace talks, Silajdzic asserted: "The attacks not only disrupt the relations between the Croats and the Serbs but also harm relations between the Croats and Muslims."

Recalling that Bosnia has agreed to the peace plan's initial nine-point section on constitutional principles, Silajdzic said that the draft constitution contains many elements that have made them feel uneasy. He asserted: "The draft constitution contains provisions preventing Bosnia-Hercegovina from becoming a state. For example, Bosnia-Hercegovina will not have the right to defend itself. Nor will it be allowed to establish its own police organization. No one can force us to sign a document before these problems are resolved."

Muslim Deputy Commander Criticizes Peace Plan

AU0502173693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Colonel Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces, gave an interview today to OSLOBODJENJE and Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have selected one part of that interview in which Stjepan Siber, as a member of the military section of the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation at the Geneva talks, gives his assessment of the talks held under the cochairmenship of Vance and Owen.

[Siber] We insisted in Geneva on the implementation of Resolution 752. After that, when that resolution is implemented, when all the heavy artillery has been handed over to the United Nations, to the international community, to anyone, to be put under lock and key, then we can talk. But, during this last batch of talks there were attempts on the political side, not the military side, to impose a solution—there will probably be more detailed talk about that in New York—to impose a solution that each of these provinces have its own army, its own police force, and its own government; that the armies pull back to their provinces; that our country have no central government, no joint army and army command, and no joint police force. There were attempts to slip this in during the bilateral talks.

So all that, particularly this last bit, leads to the conclusion that Vance and Owen have lost any feeling for a state. There cannot be a state without a government, central authorities, a joint army, a police force, then currency, the judiciary, customs, and so on.

Official Claims Peace Plan Detrimental to Serbs

AU0602151293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Speaking at a session of the government of the Serbian Republic about the course thus far of the Geneva talks on the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and their continuation in the United Nations, Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], stressed that the talks have reached a crucial point for the fate of all peoples on the territory of the former central Yugoslav republic. My view is that the proposal on the borders of the future units will be the focal point of the discussion. The borders have been drawn to our detriment because we have been deprived of 20 percent of our territories, Aleksa Buha said.

Humanitarian Airlift to Sarajevo Suspended

AU0702141793 Paris AFP in English 1226 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 7 (AFP)—The humanitarian airlift to this besieged city was suspended Sunday [7 February] while the U.N. searched for new air routes, away from a Croatian air corridor in which a German plane was damaged Saturday in an apparent antiaircraft attack.

The German C-160, bound from Zagreb to Sarajevo, was seriously damaged and one of its crew injured as it was flying near Ogulin, about 70 km (40 miles) southwest of Zagreb. The plane was able to turn back and land in Zagreb.

A U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman said the plane was hit by anti-aircraft fire, but a Defence Ministry spokesman in Bonn did not rule out a technical breakdown as the cause of damage.

The air bridge to Sarajevo, started in July, was twice interrupted for long periods, in September and again in December, when an Italian relief plane was shot down and later when two NATO planes were damaged by gunfire on landing in the Bosnian capital.

Larry Hollingsworth, the UNHCR chief of operations in Sarajevo, said Sunday that suspension of the airlift meant the already meagre amount of aid reaching the besieged capital would now be halved—from around the 230 tonnes per day needed to provide food at subsistence level to Sarajevo's 350,000 people, to around 110 to 120 tonnes, coming in overland.

Many of the overland convoys are blocked or held up for days by Serb and Croat checkpoints, and Hollingsworth said the UNHCR had few reserves, because the aid was distributed as fast as it came in.

The initial decision to suspend the airlift was taken in Zagreb by a multinational air operational cell, Hollingsworth said.

"I think when they saw this punctured and battered and tattered aircraft land, they didn't have to take long to make the decision."

"When it (the plane) got back it was found that an 18-inch (45-centimetre) piece of the propeller was missing, and that there were many shrapnel holes in the side of the aircraft.

"It's possible it was caused by something like a 23mm or 30mm antiaircraft round. That isn't confirmed, but that's the most likely cause," he said.

"As a result of that," Hollingsworth said, "there is clearly an operational risk on the current routing, so they can either reroute through Slovenia or they can climb over this particular area, by going up higher, over the area where Croatian and Serb forces are currently fighting."

"Either of those options will mean that there will be a longer flight time by 20 minutes from Zagreb to Sarajevo... therefore there will be a reduction in sorties, therefore there will be less lift into Sarajevo."

Other options of relocating the Zagreb base to somewhere in Italy or in Split were also being looked at, he said.

U.S. and French planes already fly into Sarajevo from Split.

Hollingsworth said the injured crewman, the loadmaster, had been operated on Saturday night at a U.N. military hospital in Zagreb.

The UNHCR has meanwhile been unable to drive diesel tankers into Sarajevo since January 22 from depots outside the capital because they have been blocked by Croats and because one route is too dangerous for the tankers.

With the state bread factory among facilities affected, the government announced Saturday that the bread ration would be 123 grams (4.3 ounces) per person every second day, instead of every day. Facilities such as hospitals are exempted.

Airlift Resumes 8 Feb

LD0802102093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] The airlift to Sarajevo was resumed today after a two-day interruption following a Serb attack on a UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] aircraft near Karlovac, the office of the UNHCR in Zagreb has announced. Planes will take off from Split. Sixteen flights have been scheduled for today. Three planes landed at Sarajevo by 1000.

Tuzla Fighters To Use 'Chemicals' Against Serbs

LD0702230693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] A decision was made in Tuzla today on the concept of defending the Tuzla area by using chemicals. Salih Brkic reports:

[Brkic] The aggressive and brutal chetnik attacks continue unabated. About 8,000 refugees have arrived in Tuzla from Kamenica, Konjevic Polje, and Cerska, and another 25,000 have left their homes in the Drina River valley.

After consultations with representatives of regional municipalities, the presidency of the Tuzla regional assembly has made a decision providing for a strategy of using chemicals in the defense of Tuzla region. The presidency's statement says that because not a single aid convoy with goods for the Tuzla area has arrived in a month, and the relentless attacks continue, it has been decided that all means should be used in the defense, including chemical substances available in the region. By preventing us from obtaining the necessary weapons to defend ourselves, the international community is breaching the main principles of international law, leaving us no other alternative but to use all available means to save the lives of more than 1 million people facing the threat of destruction by the Serbian and Montenegrin aggressor.

Hunger, winter, disease, and chetnik knives are already taking their tragic toll throughout the besieged areas of Kamenica, Cerska, and Konjevic Polje. If nothing is done, the situation will soon be no better in Tuzla, Zivinice, Lukavac, Srebrenik, and other free municipalities of the Tuzla region.

Our decision to use chemical resources is final. We have issued enough futile warnings and appeals and have tried to find solutions in some other way. The situation facing the population in our area is such that we have no other choice. As of now, chemical substances will be distributed along all frontlines and the evacuation of the population from the threatened areas will be conducted in due time.

The world was previously warned of the consequences of the possible use of chemicals and of the radius of their lethal effect. We will issue no more warnings, the statement of the presidency of the Tuzla regional assembly states. If roads in Hercegovina and central Bosnia are not unblocked as soon as possible, if Dubrave airport—which is now fully operational—is not reopened, and if there is

no other way out, we will start to use the chemicals distributed on the front lines. Our decision is final and this time everyone should take note of it. We wish to inform the local population that all protection measures have been taken and that there is no reason for panic, the statement says in conclusion.

Army Defends Move

AU0802160493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Report by Salih Brkic from Tuzla]

[Text] After the statement by the Tuzla presidency, the Command of the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in Tuzla issued a public statement today.

The aggression by the Serb-Montenegrin fascist forces and Karadzic's [Serbian Republic of Bosnia president] chetniks is continuing, and while political talks are taking place in New York on a peaceful solution to the aggression against an internationally recognized member of the United Nations, the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the fascists are using their ground troops and air force to kill civilians and destroy towns and villages in the Bosnian Posavina and Podrinje. Thus, the aggressor continues his act of genocide against the Muslim and Croatian population through ethnic cleansing, which according to international law is rejected as a crime against mankind, says the statement by the Second Corps in Tuzla.

That is why the Command of the Second Corps in Tuzla is warning the international and European public that, in the defense of the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians, it is forced to deploy the ultimate means against the aggressor—by placing containers with chlorine and other chemical agents in strategic places, as has already been done before.

The international community has not allowed us to use our right to self-defense and arm ourselves with defense weapons, denying our country the right guaranteed by the UN Charter. So, the use of chemical agents will affect the international community, particularly the United Nations, as they will bear the responsibility for the catastrophic consequences of using chlorine. These consequences would be felt in the wider area of Central Europe, particularly Hungary, southern Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, and parts of Italy. The amount of chlorine that we have available is more powerful and deadlier than the nuclear bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, stresses the Command of the Second Corps in Tuzla.

If we are forced to use this ultimate weapon, the world community will bear the responsibility since it was not ready to allow us to defend ourselves with conventional weapons against the Serbian-Montenegrin fascism.

We again warn the fighters and citizens along the frontlines to follow the procedure on protection and evacuation into the protected zones in case of the deployment of chlorine, concludes the statement by the Command of the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in Tuzla.

UNPROFOR To Investigate

AU0802123293 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 8 (AFP)—The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Hercegovina will investigate reports that local leaders in the northeastern Tuzla area are ready to unleash chemicals against Serb forces.

Pollution of local rivers and creeks feeding into the big Sava River with a substance such as a cyanide compound could carry all the way to the Serbian capital of Belgrade, then through Romania and into the Black Sea.

A cloud of chlorine or similar gas could devastate entire military units and spread over a large area.

UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer said Monday [8 February] that the force had heard the reports that the regional leadership was ready to use chemicals—forbidden under the Geneva Convention on warfare—but had not confirmed them.

"We'll definitely look into it," Frewer said, "and we'll see ... if these unconfirmed reports are substantiated."

Bosnian media reported that the presidency of the area, which is a chemical producing region, had decided to use the chemicals because no conventional weapons were being supplied from abroad, the result of an international arms embargo against all warring parties in the former Yugoslavia.

Some of the chemicals have already been placed along the front lines, the media reported.

It said the regional leadership had promised that civilians would be evacuated before the chemicals were unleashed.

The type of chemicals to be used was not specified.

The regional presidency also announced last October that it had placed chemicals in containers—the type carried on container ships—at strategic points for a few days.

It was believed then that if the containers had indeed been set up with chemicals in them that they would be a chlorine compound.

It was possible, however, that the announcement was a bluff to intimidate the Serb forces.

The area has seen heavy fighting between the Serb forces and the Bosnian army.

Thousands of Moslem refugees expelled by Serb troops—as part of their policy of "ethnic cleansing"—from towns and villages near the Drina River, separating Bosnia-Hercegovina from Serbia, are now trekking into the Tuzla area, straining its resources.

Radio amateurs in the eastern town of Srebrenica reported on January 29 that thousands of Serbian troops had crossed the Drina to aid local Serb forces, and had polluted

local rivers with unidentified substances as they pillaged and burned Moslem villages.

Those reports have not been confirmed by the U.N. Protection Force, which has no troops in that area.

A British U.N. battalion is stationed in the Tuzla area, however.

Sarajevo Radio Roundup of War Situation

LD0602163193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Report by Suzana Djozo]

[Excerpts] [Djozo] Artillery shelling of villages and towns, killing of civilians because of failures on the battlefields, efforts to secure the so-called northern corridor, the use of poisonous gas and aircraft—these are characteristics of actions today by the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressors and the Serbian Democratic Party outcasts.

The aggressor launched the fiercest attack on defenders of Brcko. Before that report, let us hear about the situation in Srebrenica, Cerska, Konjovic Polje, and Kamenica. [passage omitted]

A report from the Zvornik press center:

[Unidentified reporter] Kamenica is hellish today, with incessant firing from all weapons. An infiltrated group of saboteurs was caught and liquidated in Cerska, and three Russians were captured.

There is fresh suffering by the civilian population and an exodus by desperate people under siege is under way. The world has not done anything so far to prevent the killing, hunger, and deaths from cold weather.

Intensive shelling of fringes of the free territory of the Zvornik municipality is continuing. Regrouping, the bringing in of fresh forces, and the positioning of heavy artillery weapons along defense lines have been noticed.

We have not received any detailed reports on casualties or material damage, because intensive combat is under way. The only certainty is that the civilian population is suffering. Defense lines are stable and firmly in our control.

[Djozo] Following a hellish night, when all calibers of shells rained on the defenders of the free Brcko territories, today has been one of the hardest and the bloodiest days on the Brcko battlefield. Hamid (Deranic) and Nihad Salihovic have reported that the entire 60-km-long front line has been shaking under a rain of heavy artillery shells.

[Unidentified reporter] The fiercest fighting is taking place around the corridor. Brcko defense positions in the areas of Gornji Vuksic, Donji Vuksic, and Ulice have been exposed to frightful pressure from the aggressor. At the moment, the aggressor is carrying out a heavy combined infantry and artillery attack on our defense lines, supported by all of its 60-mm and 122-mm artillery. Our defenders readily responded to the chetnik fighters and tanks and have so far kept them at a safe distance. [passage omitted] There have been no reports on possible losses within the ranks of the 108th Brcko brigade.

[Djozo] On the Gradacac battlefield, the aggressor has mainly observed a three-day cease-fire, signed yesterday in order to exchange the dead. [passage omitted] Tuzla was quiet today, but fighting is taking place in Teocak and Kalesija. Salih Brkic reports:

[Brkic] The fiercest fighting is taking place today around Teocak. Early this morning, the chetniks launched a tank and infantry attack from Priboj and [name indistinct] on (?Dzemad) and (?Obrsina). The heroic defenders of Teocak broke off the chetnik attack today and pushed the chetniks back deep into temporarily occupied territory with a counterattack. While I am reporting this, the news from the command of the operative group responsible for Teocak is that fighting is continuing.

Over the past few hours, the chetniks attempted an infantry attack on the village of Zaseok in the free territory of the municipality of Zvornik following an artillery attack. They did it from the direction of [names indistinct], but the defenders of the free territory of the Zvornik Municipality readily repulsed the attack. [passage omitted]

Heavy Fighting Reported Around Bratunac

LD0602132893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Bratunac, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—All-out attacks by Muslims from Srebrenica and by foreign mercenaries against defenders of the Serb municipality of Bratunac resumed early this morning. Attacks have occurred over several days.

Colonel Svetozar Parezanin from the Drina Corps of the Serb Republic Army said that the attacks were launched from several directions using all available artillery pieces and infantry weapons.

In the past few days, a considerably higher number of mercenaries have been taking part in attacks in the region, but the Drina Corps spoke of real chaos among Muslim fighters, Col. Parezanin said. The Serb side has information about a serious conflict between [Muslim] commanders from Srebrenica and outsiders who do not recognize local military authorities in Srebrenica. This explains the fact that members of Muslim formations suffered considerable losses—especially of men—over the past five to six days.

"We are at the stage of active defense and are firmly holding all our positions," Col. Parezanin stressed.

Serbs Fire 2,000 Projectiles at Sarajevo 4 Feb

AU0502142793 Paris AFP in English 1352 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 5 (AFP)—Sarajevo ended its first 10 months of siege Friday [5 February] still under fire from

Serb gunners who poured some 2,000 shells, mortars and rockets onto the city Thursday, killing nine people and wounding 34.

Fighting was particularly fierce around the airport, said U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer.

But that did not stop a record number of people trying to cross the darkened runway dividing the city from Bosnian Government held territory beyond, he said. U.N. troops turned back 714 people—246 of them women and children—trying to cross in both directions.

Commander Frewer said three U.N. armoured personnel carriers (APCs) manned by the French Foreign Legion were hit by small arms fire at the airport, where Serb snipers try to pick off the crossers, but that none of the soldiers was wounded.

A British APC in central Bosnia-Hercegovina was hit by 12 high velocity rounds, Frewer said, but again there were no casualties or damage. [passage omitted]

Frewer classified the artillery and mortar fire on all parts of Sarajevo Thursday as "heavy," with an incomplete UNPROFOR count of 57 artillery shells, 301 mortar rounds, 307 tank shells, 14 antiaircraft rounds and 23 rockets incoming.

The UNPROFOR observers estimate that they count about one-third of the fire, which would mean the city was hit by more than 2,000 shells, mortar rounds and rockets.

The toll of nine dead and 34 wounded in government-held parts of the city was reported by hospitals and the morgue.

The U.N. observers counted four artillery shells, 59 mortar rounds, 63 tank shells and 40 antiaircraft rounds fired by the mainly Moslem Bosnian army.

Frewer also reported a two-and-a-half hour infantry skirmish between the two sides in a suburb between the airport and the city centre and said there had been heavy shelling in the northwestern Bihac area.

Aid convoys to the area from nearby Croatia have been blocked for more than a week by Serbs and Frewer said negotiations to allow them through were continuing.

Nine convoys delivered 1,008 tonnes of aid throughout Bosnia- Hercegovina Thursday—the highest tonnage for two weeks, he said.

Those coming north from the Croatian base of Metkovic are using an alternate mountain road to bypass an area where a convoy came under fire Tuesday, when a Croat interpreter was killed and the Danish convoy leader seriously wounded.

Three Killed, Five Wounded in Sarajevo Shelling

LD0702153693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Apparent lulls followed by sudden enemy shellings of Sarajevo seem to be the greatest danger for the residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina's capital. The same thing happened today.

One aggressor shell fell shortly after 1000 on Gazin Han, right at the spot where citizens line up for water. The result is tragic. Three persons were killed, and five were seriously or lightly wounded. There were mainly children and women in the water line. All victims were immediately taken to the emergency ward of Kosevo hospital.

One person was also wounded in enemy shelling in Vratnik after 1000 today. Most other parts of the town are peaceful. [passage omitted]

Refugees Fleeing Zvornik Die of Hunger, Cold

AU0502185593 Paris AFP in English 1742 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 5 (AFP)—Moslem refugees are fleeing Serbian-controlled eastern Bosnia and some have died of hunger and cold along the way, a spokesman for the [Office of the] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) told AFP Friday [5 February].

In the past few days, some 3,000 to 5,000 predominantly Moslem refugees have arrived in Tuzla, northeastern Bosnia, after fleeing the eastern regions of Zvornik and Kamenica, said Peter Kessler, UNHCR spokesman.

"Most of the refugees have traveled by foot the 40 kilometers (25 miles) that separated them from Tuzla and some of them died on the road from hunger and cold," Kessler added.

A UNHCR convoy loaded with 300 tons of humanitarian aid should leave Belgrade Saturday for Tuzla.

Kessler said that he was unable to provide any information on Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave on the border between Bosnia and Serbia.

The UNHCR has not been able to reach this small area since last December.

According to the Croatian media, 18 people died there of cold in a 24-hour period at the beginning of the week.

Hunger, Disease, Cold, Attacks Move 6,000 People

AU0502202893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Report by Salih Brkic from Tuzla]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The exodus of the people from Kamenica and Cerska is continuing. During the last five days alone, almost 6,000 refugees have arrived in the free

territory of Zvornik, Kalesija and Tuzla. The hunger, disease, the cold and the constant chetnik attacks, particularly the daily shellings, have moved these sad processions of old folk, women and children on the road of death and hope. The Tuzla authorities have appealed for help to the neighboring communes to help take care of the refugees from the River Drina region. [passage omitted]

Mass Starvation Feared in Zepa

LD0702192693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] There are no encouraging news from Zepa. In addition to daily shelling, hunger, cold, and lack of medicines are the greatest enemies of the exhausted population.

[Reporter] The number of refugees has in the past few days risen by 5,000, so that there are now 34,000 refugees and residents in Zepa. All these people have run out of supplies of food, medicines, and shelter. They are seeking shelter in mountains and caves. The grave situation (?has slowed down) the flow of information. By 1500 today 23 people had died of starvation, including nine children and old persons. It is certain that this number is increasing by the hour, and mass death by starvation is imminent.

Deaths by Starvation in Gorazde

LD0702193493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] The dead are being counted in Gorazde.

[Reporter] Twenty-two new victims will lie upon the consciences of chetnik murderers, Mr. Morillon, and the world's humanitarian organizations. It is useless to speak about anyone's responsibility for the deaths of women, children, the elderly and the sick who are guilty only of not being Serbs by birth and chetniks by conviction. It is useless to repeat the sad truth about dying of starvation at the end of the 20th century. Stories cannot help people in the Gorazde area. Dear gentlemen, they are not interested in negotiations—they need flour, and at the moment they are not asking for anything else.

Concerning military activities in the zone of the Eastern Bosnian Operational Group, today was one of the most peaceful of recent days. Considering the aggressors' regrouping and the arrival of fresh forces, the lull is being interpreted here as the calm before the storm.

Cerska Mourns 'Hundreds of Dead' After Shelling

LD0702191993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] The areas of Cerska and Zepa have been exposed to fresh suffering today. More than 1,500 shells of various calibers have been fired at the Cerska area, according to the information service of the Vlasenica municipality, with its seat in (?Tesanj).

[Reporter] Cerska is today mourning hundreds of dead who cannot be reached. The wounded cannot be given first medical aid. Guns, tanks, howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, and 120 mm mortars, supported by antiaircraft machineguns and guns, are destroying everything before them. The number of civilian casualties is frightening because civilian buildings are the favorite target of enemy shells which are sowing mass death.

The chetniks have attempted two infantry breakthroughs, which were successfully repelled by our defenders who inflicted losses on the chetniks. The enemy are also using napalm bombs and chemical weapons, but defenders are ready even for that. Thus the chetnik plans have not succeeded.

Sarajevo Fighting, Gornji Vakuf Truce Reported

AU0802125593

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 8 February in its regular 25-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Correspondent in Sarajevo Sabahita Maluhic reports that "as noon approaches, the situation in Sarajevo is deteriorating: The chetnik artillery is attacking the city and its citizens again. The worst situation at the moment is in Alipasino Polje and the Pavle Goranin District, which are being intensively shelled. A chetnik shell fired from Nedjarici toward Vojnicko Polje has wounded six people and killed one. The chetniks fired chemical agents [bojni otrov] on (?Aneks) on two occasions, at 1100 and at 1130. We have been told by the Novo Sarajevo Public Security Station that five shells fell on Hrasno Hill between 1030 and 1100 and that chetnik antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns were firing all the time." The chetniks are occasionally shelling Gazin Han and Srebrenik. Finally, we have a report that four shells fell on Dobrinja Two at about 1100."

Correspondent in Gornji Vakuf (Adil Agic) reports on a "meeting that provided some optimism about establishing peace" concluding in Gornji Vakuf "last night." According to the correspondent, the following people attended the meeting: Emin Bijedic, Esad Ramic, and (Kemo Pihotic) representing the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Zeljko Siljek and (Alen Dedic) for the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]; Mr. Jean-Jacques (Mouselou) for EC; and Major Alan (Jones) for UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. They agreed to the following:

First: Both sides agree that (?all) units under their control which have come in Gornji Vakuf from other regions will be withdrawn from Gornji Vakuf. The Jajce Unit will be stationed in Zenica. The HVO will allow safe passage to the units and the movement itself will follow immediately after the situation in Busovaca is normalized. Observers of the international (?and European) community will supervise these movements in conjunction with UNPROFOR. The next meeting will be held on Tuesday, 9 February 1993 at 0930 to continue discussing the movement of the units of both the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the HVO army.

Third [as heard]: Before the units are withdrawn from the Gornji Vakuf region, both sides will do everything possible to prevent truce violations. They will meet every day for talks about possible problems.

Fourth: Both sides will do everything possible to return any vehicles or ambulances seized during the hostilities.

Fifth: Both sides agree to free all [word indistinct] civilians and [word indistinct] all [word indistinct] military personnel and will do so under the direct supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Observers of the international [words indistinct] as soon as possible. At the same time, bodies will also be exchanged.

Sixth: Both sides will do everything possible to ensure the treatment of the wounded.

When the citizens of Gornji Vakuf thought they might finally have achieved peace, an explosive device was thrown from the region of (Relej Gravica) controlled by the HVO into (Javic), where there is nothing but small Bosnian houses. Immediately after a loud explosion, there was infantry fire."

The correspondent also says that "there were explosions all through the night and snipers are in action all the time.

"Finally, we must say this as well: The non-local HVO units have caused great damage not only to Muslim people but also to Croats living in the commune. There are frequent clashes between local and non-local units."

Continuous Fighting at Gornji Vakuf

LD0702205293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Throughout last night and today fighting took place between units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, our reporter Atif Agic reports from Gornji Vakuf. The town has been surrounded by the HVO, who have continually pounded civilian targets from the surrounding hills. In the past 24 hours alone, over 300 shells were fired and multiple rocket launchers was also used. The antiaircraft machineguns and antiaircraft guns were constantly active.

At a news conference in Mostar, it was reported that the St. Anton church hall in Gornji Vakuf had been set ablaze. This is not true, Atif Agic reports. Last night a sniper's nest on the post office building, which later burned down, was neutralized. Gornji Vakuf is currently one of the main flashpoints of confrontation where continuous fighting has been going on, so there can be no talk of any real cease-fire. Agic further reports that there are hundreds of dead on both sides.

Croat-Bosnian Clashes Continue

AU0802084893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text]] In Gornji Vakuf, clashes between units of the Croatian Defense Council and the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina are continuing with the same intensity. Sniper activity by the Croatian Defense Council around the town area is particularly intense. They are using splinter and incendiary ammunition. Croatian Defense Council snipers have continued their activity in Busovaca as well, but it is calmer than in previous days.

Muslim Commander Accuses Croats of Launching Coup

LD0602114393 Tehran IRNA in English 0800 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, Feb. 6, IRNA—The shaky truce between Bosnian Croat units (HVO) [Croatian Defense Council] and the mainly Muslim Bosnian Army in central Bosnia is on the verge of total breakdown, a Muslim source told IRNA, as units of the HVO continue to surround the Muslim towns of Konjic and Jablanica.

Bosnian Army Commander Colonel Rasim Delic, a Muslim, together with the joint chiefs of staff in Sarajevo, has sharply accused the HVO of launching a coup d'etat in central Bosnia and establishing a self-proclaimed Croat state by force.

The extreme Croat leadership had dismissed the Bosnian civil authorities in the predominantly Muslim west-central towns of Kiseljak, Busovaca, Vares, Vitez, Travnik and Gornji Vakuf, Delic said.

"Wherever the HVO establishes itself, Muslims become second-class citizens," he said.

Nominal allies in the war against attacking Serbs in Bosnia, Croats and Muslims have been at daggers drawn for the past two weeks in central Bosnia, as Croats, encouraged by the Tudjman administration in the Republic of Croatia, strive to drive Muslims out of provinces they consider their own.

According to Radio Sarajevo, more people have died of sniper fire in Gornji Vakuf since the UN-brokered ceasefire began on January 26 than during open hostilities.

The radio said that Croats were using incendiary bullets to set Muslim houses on fire.

"This truce is a farce," said Gornji Vakuf Defence Commander, Fahrudin Agic. "Croats kill several of our civilians and soldiers every day."

Casualties according to the Bosnian Army are around 60 Muslims, civilians and soldiers, and 300 Croat soldiers killed.

The HVO, however, claims that 100 of its soldiers died in the fighting.

According to Colonel Delic, specially trained units, some from Croatia, brought up heavy artillery and tanks to central Bosnia and provoked incidents in Vakuf and Prozor, which, he said, were burnt to the ground.

According to Delic, the entire operation had been led by high-ranking officers of the Croatian Army.

Prior to the clashes, Colonel Delic said, Muslims in these towns were arrested and interrogated and bombs set off in their houses until the HVO issued an ultimatum to the Bosnian Army to lay down their arms.

A high-ranking official in the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zagreb told IRNA that the current clashes between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia were "provoked by the Serbian counterintelligence."

"These clashes are of use only to Belgrade," the source, who wished to remain anonymous, said.

However, in an interview to Spanish magazine 'LA VANGUARDIA' this week, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said "Muslim extremists in Bosnia were trying to set up an Islamic state" and had provoked the clashes.

Delic denied Croat accusations of Muslim atrocities in central Bosnia. "Muslim villages were set on fire, the mosques were demolished, Muslims were ill-treated and some massacred," he said.

"This is very difficult to comment... I don't think we deserved to live to see this," he added.

The Croatian media blockade of Bosnian sources has created an intolerant atmosphere in the media here, with Muslims proclaimed extremists who burn Croat villages and massacre civilians.

This was reinforced by Chairman of the Croatian Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Janko Bobetko, who told pro-government weekly 'DANAS' that Bosnian Army Commander-in-Chief Sefer Halilovic was "a pathological and irresponsible person" who helped Serbs, the common enemy, to regroup while "Muslims burned down Croat houses."

Bobetko opposed the lifting of the embargo on arms deliveries to Muslims on Bosnia, presently being considered by the US national defence council.

Juka Prazina's Units Injure Army Escort

AU0802083893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT

[Text] The Press Center of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina has learned that yesterday, 7 February, at about 1100, a vehicle of the (?Fourth) Corps Command was stopped near the Sjeverni Logor Barracks in Mostar, where the Jusuf Juka Prazina units of the Croatian Defense Council are stationed. The commander was not in the vehicle, but the commander's escort, Alija Bajic, was so badly injured that he was hospitalized.

Izetbegovic Rejects UN Report on Assassination

AU0502143393 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 5 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has rejected a U.N. report on the January 8 assassination here of Deputy Prime Minister Hakija Turajlic, who was shot by a Serb gunman as he sat inside a U.N. vehicle manned by French troops.

Turajlic was killed by a Serb soldier who fired seven shots into the U.N. armored personnel carrier (APC) after French Colonel Patrice Sartre had negotiated for its passage through a Serb roadblock near Sarajevo's airport.

Izetbegovic, who has sent Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic to a new round of talks at U.N. headquarters in New York to discuss the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina after the failure of negotiations in Geneva, said Thursday [4 February]: "The whole report has the purpose of justifying UNPROFOR's actions and absolving them of guilt."

"My personal opinion is that the UNPROFOR (the U.N. Protection Force) is guilty of the simple fact of opening the door (of the APC)."

UNPROFOR Provost Marshall F.C. Helaers of Belgium, the head of the force's military police, meanwhile arrived in Sarajevo with a team of MPs [military police] Thursday to continue the investigation, despite the issuing of the report.

He showed testimony from witnesses to Bosnian Interior Minister Jusuf Pusina—the first time the Bosnian Government had seen it, according to a government liaison officer.

Judge Milorad Potparic, who heads the Bosnian Government's probe into the assassination, said the MPs wanted to inspect the site, but that any visit was problematic because they were scared of sniping in the area, OSLOBODENJE newspaper reported.

He said the MPs wanted to talk to witnesses.

Potparic urged the U.N. Security Council to lift the immunity of UNPROFOR troops so they could be compelled to testify in court.

He added that the MPs said they would try to bring Sartre back to Sarajevo from France, where he returned after finishing his tour of duty here, to aid the investigation.

If that failed, he said, the MPs would try to go to France to interview him there.

Staff Dismissed for Not Returning to Sarajevo

AU0502163093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government has made a decision at today's session to issue the notice of dismissal to all members of the government, their deputies, associates and others who have for a long time now been abroad

without the permission or authorization of the government, and who have not responded to the requests hitherto to return to their duties in Sarajevo.

The government has authorized the relevant ministries to act according to the law and initiate the appropriate action against these persons for avoiding their military service, and to establish responsibility on other charges. The government made a decision at the same session to request from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to investigate similar cases for persons whom the Presidency had authorized to stay abroad, and to take relevant measures within its authority.

Muslims Absent From Bosnia-UN Meeting

LD0702201393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1949 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, February 7 (TANJUG)—A joint meeting of mixed commissions of the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) Serbs and the units loyal to Muslim Leader Alija Izetbegovic was not held at Sarajevo airport on Sunday [7 February] because the Muslim representatives did not turn up at the set time.

The meeting, which was to be mediated by U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Commander in BiH, French General Philippe Morillon, was to discuss ceasefires in Sarajevo and the area of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, and a joint resolving of infrastructure problems.

Since the Muslim representatives did not show up, representatives of the army of the Serbian Republic in BiH held a two-hour meeting with the French general.

The Serbian side reiterated that it wanted peace, which it said was well illustrated by its opening of a corridor towards Kalesija in eastern Bosnia. Roughly 1,000 Muslims from the areas of Zvornik, Bratunac and Srebrenica have used the corridor in the past several days.

The Serbian side said it was ready to take other such actions in cooperation with the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Article Analyzes Proposed Constitution

AU0802094293 Belgrade SRPSKA REC in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 93 p 54

[Article by Kosta Cavoski: "Illusion of Victory"]

[Text] The original draft constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina consisted of 10 paragraphs that, according to Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia president] and Slobodan Milosevic [Serbian president], did not clearly and resolutely enough guarantee the absolute equality of all the three peoples who make up this state. On 12 January this year, Karadzic, Milosevic, and Dobrica Cosic [FRY president] agreed in Geneva upon a draft constitution that had nine, instead of 10, paragraphs. Milosevic appraised it as a great improvement. "You must have noticed that the document being passed around today at the Geneva conference has undergone a significant change, because it is the first paragraph, now defining nine paragraphs, instead of 10 as it was before, that affirms the three constituent peoples, while the other paragraphs affirms the principle of consensus in settling the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis. Therefore, the following question arises: if one extends one's hand and offers a consensus, if one offers the status of an equally treated, constituent people, which is to say, if elements are offered guaranteeing that the interests of the Serbian people are protected, is it plausible for such option to be refused?" Milosevic explained. And when one formulates a question the way Milosevic did, the answer must be positive.

Karadzic tried to support the political "skills" of Milosevic, although he had violently opposed the original plan of Vance and Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen]. Therefore he tried to present the reduction of items as a great compromise. "Basically, when one compares the original 10 paragraphs, proposed by Vance and Owen, and these that we proposed, we have a middle position, that is to say the nine paragraphs. The one regarding the status of the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina is replaced in the first paragraph, thereby determining that the Serbs are a constituent people," Karadzic said. The change is for Karadzic also a "great improvement." "The document now consists of nine paragraphs that include one compromise, and we consider the modified draft more acceptable that way," Karadzic concluded. However, because he himself did not believe in what he wanted other people to believe in, he added that it was "very important to him, personally, that presidents Cosic, Bulatovic [Montenegrin president], and Milosevic had insisted on his agreement."

Consent Under Threat

In fact, that was no compromise, it was rather that Milosevic and Karadzic, fearing some new sanctions and possible military intervention, unconditionally accepted the original draft. The only "change" is that the first and the fourth paragraph were blended into one. The original draft starts with the resolution that "Bosnia-Hercegovina will be a decentralized state, with the majority of its functions administered in provinces," and the fourth item determines that "the constitution will recognize three major 'ethnic' groups as the constituent units of the state, as well as the other 'ethnic' groups. In the final form of the draft, the fourth paragraph was literally inserted into the first, so it now reads: "Bosnia-Hercegovina will be a decentralized state, the constitution will recognize three constituent peoples, as well as other (peoples), and the majority of state functions will be performed in its provinces." The difference is only in terminology: the original form refers to the major "ethnic" groups, while the final form refers to the constituent peoples. Even from the Serbian and the Croatian point of view, the expression "ethnic" group is more convenient as a generic term for all three peoples, because it has never been questioned that

the Serbs and the Croats are peoples, while the Muslims had for a long time been referred to as an ethnic group, not a people.

Unanimity as the Means of Preserving the Imposed Constitution

Milosevic and Karadzic not only emphasized the differences between the original and the final proposal, even though such differences did not exist at all, they also praised the nonexistent great advantages and values of the proposals. That refers above all to the principle that the constitution will regulate everything that is of vital importance to any of the constituent peoples, and that the paragraphs concerning those questions can be changed only with the consent of all three peoples. Milosevic praised the determined principle of unanimity, as though he had not had any experience with the 1974 Constitution of the SFRY and Serbia: "We assessed that the rights of the Serbian people are safeguarded through exactly those two principles regarding the constituent peoples and consensus, because there is no possibility that decisions can be forced out, or that the peoples' rights can be usurped." However, he forgot one single condition: What he claims is valid only if the state constitution is not imposed. Balsa Spadijer also confirmed this point when he said that "although the document referred to changes in the constitution in view of consensus of three constituent peoples, it was logical to suppose that the act itself will be passed through a consensus."

However, with respect to Bosnia, it is not logical to expect any consensus, just as it was not logical in 1974. If we consider that constitutional principles may be forced through, because the Serbian faction bitterly accepts them under immense international pressure, is it not probable, if not imminent, that the future constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the division into provinces will also be forced through? And once imposed, then, just like the 1974 SFRY constitution, these provinces will be actually unchangeable, because the principle of unanimity says that one constituent people can veto any amendments proposed in the future.

However, one does not have to be a prophet to see that it is exactly what Vance and Owen want, which is to say the EC and the United States. Otherwise, why would they also propose that the international observer and monitoring commissions, as determined by the constitution, should stay in Bosnia "until all three constituent peoples decide that the commissions are not necessary any more." In other words, the real unforced consensus of three peoples is supposed to apply only to future amendments, but not to the adoption of the constitution itself.

Voting Down One People

The next of Milosevic's deceits, or self-deceit, is the idea that the Serbs in Bosnia have been "offered the status of an equal, constituent people," and that "there is no way for some measures injurious of the Serbian people's interests to be adopted." This would be true if a consensus among all three peoples were not necessary only when altering the constitution, but also when performing everyday state functions. It is the latter that Vance and Owen wanted to dodge, so they explicitly determined that "the regular state functions are not liable to veto by any party." In other words, if the Croats and the Muslims were agreed and cooperative, they would always be able to vote down the Serbs in Parliament, the Presidency, or the government, exactly as they used to before. The only solution for the Serbs would be to win over either the Croats or the Muslims, which is quite improbable, or to try to modify the constitution, which is, under present conditions, impossible.

An additional reason for Milosevic and Karadzic to accept even such unfavorable principles is the first paragraph, which declares Bosnia a decentralized state, with the majority of state functions being performed in the provinces. However, they have forgotten that the allocation of authority among the provinces, on the one hand, and in the Federal Government, on the other, is regulated by the constitution, and it would be unique among all federations that there would be frequent disputes over the meaning and the limits of the constitutional allocation of authority. Such disputes would be particularly frequent in the field of so-called competitive authority, when the same issue, say taxes, is supervised by both a provincial government, and the Federal Government. According to the Vance and Owen plan, such disputes are supposed to be settled by the constitutional court, which would consist mostly of non-Bosnian members, appointed by the international conference on the former Yugoslavia. In other words, the most important constitutional arguments in the future Bosnian state would be handled by foreigners through the constitutional court. And in view of the present situation, it is quite improbable that these foreigners from the EC would support the Serbian provinces against the Federal Government.

As usually happens in a policy overburdened by insoluble and deadly strife, there are no easy choices in this zone of darkness. One can describe the Vance and Owen plan in one sentence: If the Serbs accept it, they will be sorry; if they do not accept it, they will be sorry, too. Because the former means reconciliation through force and inequality, while the latter may lead to foreign military intervention. The greatest responsibility for such a situation does not fall on the assembly of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia- Hercegovina], but on one man who led us into a blind-alley with his wrong and short-sighted nationalist policy. That man is Milosevic.

A Vassal State

If there is anything certain in this draft constitution, it is the expectation that Bosnia will be neither sovereign, nor independent, but a vassal state under the powerful patronage of the EC and the United States, as authorized by the United Nations. Foreigners will not only control the implementation of the constitution, and solve the most important disputes, but they will also supervise the first

elections, conduct disarmament and demilitarization, patrol the "blue borders" among the provinces, and monitor the implementation of agreements reached at the peace conference, balancing relations among the warring factions. Besides, the supervisors will have all the rights, while the people of Bosnia will assume the appropriate responsibilities and duties. In other words, they will be treated just like the natives in African colonies were. The Bosnians will be people who cannot be permitted to govern their state themselves, because otherwise they would exterminate themselves, so their very limited self-governing will be constantly monitored by foreign protectors. And such an illusion of statehood can hardly hope for a safer future.

We can only wonder: How is it possible that the same foreigners who proclaimed multinational Yugoslavia dead after 73 years of existence can believe that this misbegotten, multinational Bosnia is capable of life? In his "Politics," discussing the causes of rebellions, and origins of state, Aristotle concludes that a state does not originate in any crowd, or at any moment. In Bosnia's case, all the odds confirm this truth once again.

UN Emergency Aid Flight Reportedly Shot Down

German Spokesman on Downing

LD0702134893 Berlin DDP in German 1246 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Bonn (DDP)—The Bundeswehr [Federal Armed Forces] Transall aircraft forced to make an emergency landing on Saturday [6 February] afternoon during an aid flight from Zagreb to Sarajevo appears to have indeed been shot down. A spokesman from the Federal Defense Ministry said today in Bonn that an initial examination showed this was likely. It had been reported previously that it was equally likely that material fatigue could have caused the damage to the aircraft.

According to the spokesman, Federal Defense Minister Volker Ruehe announced that further aid flights could be resumed only following specific instructions and after a detailed report on the incident had been prepared.

To that end, a flight safety team was due to arrive in Zagreb early this afternoon to conduct on-site investigations into the precise cause of the damage. [passage omitted]

Croatian Army Issues Statement

LD0602195893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] The operations center of the Croatian Army General Staff has announced that at 1339 today the enemy opened fire from the direction of Slunjska Brda and Jelasi at a UN aircraft 3110, flight number UN305, flying from Zagreb to Sarajevo via Karlovac at an altitude of 3100 meters. On the basis of witnesses' statements, the aircraft was shot at while flying in the Gornje Mekusje-Turanj direction. One explosion was heard, after which smoke was observed.

After it was shot at, the aircraft turned around and returned to Zagreb. Our observers, the statement says, could not see which type of weapon was fired and whether the aircraft was hit. Our units did not open fire, and we have no antiaircraft units in the area in which the event happened, the statement says.

Zagreb flight control has confirmed that UN aircraft 3110, a Transal ND-16, flight number UN305, of the German Air Force, took off from Zagreb at 1326, and that it flew on the regular route toward Sarajevo. The aircraft was flying to Sarajevo on a humanitarian mission organized by the UN High Commission for Refugees. At 1339 the pilot reported that he had been hit by a missile, that he was returning to Zagreb, that the right engine had been destroyed, and that one person had been wounded in the aircraft. The event happened 25 nautical miles from Zagreb airport, at an altitude of 3100 meters, and within a regular flight corridor. The damaged aircraft landed at Zagreb Airport at 1353. According to reports, its body and a propeller on one engine are damaged.

Krajina Serbs Blamed

LD0702210293 Hamburg DPA in German 1926 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Zagreb (DPA)—UN peace corps headquarters in Zagreb have named—with unusual clarity—the Croatian Serbs as responsible for the attack on a Luftwaffe transport aircraft. In a communique issued this evening in Zagreb, the UN troop command said that UN troops in Kosijersko Selo, in the Serb-occupied area of Croatia near Karlovac, had seen Serb irregulars firing at the Transall. An antiaircraft gun fired several shells at the aircraft, the communique said.

Cedric Thornberry, deputy commander of the UN peace mission in the former Yugoslavia, protested against the attack in the strongest terms to the Serb rulers in Belgrade and Knin, "capital" of the "Republic of Krajina." At the same time Thornberry called on the Serbs to refrain from hindering humanitarian aid missions to Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Serbs Say Flight Unscheduled

LD0702210693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The headquarters of the Krajina forces of Kordun stated today that no flights had been scheduled over the Karlovac area for Saturday [6 February], when fire was opened on an UN aircraft in that area, ISKRA, the Republic of Serbian Krajina news agency, reports.

The agency points out the fact that Croatian forces fitted their forward positions with antiaircraft artillery pieces, something that was hitherto not in evidence in this area.

Yesterday, a representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Zagreb said a German UN Protection Force aircraft had been hit by antiaircraft gun fire southwest of Karlovac at about 1300 as it was flying a humanitarian mission from Zagreb to Sarajevo.

The information service of the air force and antiaircraft defense of the Army of the Serbian republic reported this afternoon that "the aircraft that was allegedly attacked had not been entered in the flight clearance register and was flying far beyond the flight path used by humanitarian missions."

There is evidence that so far there have been a number of flights by airplanes carrying arms and ammunition to the Muslim forces in the Cazin area along the flight path used by the German aircraft, something representatives of the UN peace force have been informed of on several occasions.

"The plane's unannounced flight and its flight path lead us to believe it was on a similar mission or that its flight was used for reconnaissance," the statement says.

The information service of the Serb Republic Army's air force and antiaircraft defense stresses that "it was agreed

upon, and all interested parties as well as the UN Security Council were informed, that humanitarian flights for Sarajevo will use the Zagreb-Krk- Split-Sarajevo flight path, preceded by compulsory flight clearance.

"Violation of the no-fly zone, violation of the agreed flight path, the unanounced flight, and all other facts confirm that everything had been done on purpose to obstruct the peace negotiations on Bosnia and to blame the Serb side once again for something the Serb side cannot be blamed for," the statement of the Serb Republic Army's air force and antiaircraft defense stresses.

Krajina Serbs Refuse To Participate in Talks

LD0602065693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2331 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The delegation of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] will not go to the UN Headquarters in New York to have talks with representatives of the Republic of Croatia, Krajina's authorities decided tonight.

TANJUG's correspondent from Knin has learned about this decision from Boro Martinovic, an adviser to the RSK government. Martinovic stresses that the RSK authorities will sit down at the negotiating table provided Croatia unconditionally complies with all the decisions in UN Security Council Resolutions 802 and 762.

Croatia has turned a deaf ear to the UN Security Council resolutions, which demand an end to its aggression and withdrawal to the initial positions.

The RSK government representative notes that the "Krajina authorities have demonstrated a considerable level of cooperation in their relations with the United Nations" and cites as an example "that the RSK has refrained from retaliating in full force and liberating the occupied territories of Serbian Krajina."

The cochairmen of the peace conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and David Owen, have invited representatives of the RSK authorities to take part in negotations on the situation in the zones under UN protection.

On 22 January, Croatia attacked and occupied some parts of the RSK that are under UN protection, causing a large number of civilian casualties, destruction, and a fresh wave of refugees.

Serbs Call Invitations 'Humiliating'

LD0702181893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Kragujevac, Feb 7 (TANJUG)— Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), told Radio Kragujevac on Sunday [7 February] that a delegation of the RSK (U.N.-protected territory, or UNPA) had not left for the U.N. headquarters because of "humiliating invitations sent to it from New York."

Said he, "we have not left for talks in New York because the first invitation failed to make clear whom shall we talk with and about what, while a second invitation was extremely humiliating also for President Goran Hadzic and people of the RSK."

On Friday, the RSK authorities decided not to send a delegation to New York for talks with representatives of the Republic of Croatia, the Army of which launched an offensive on the RSK on january 22.

Minister Jarcevic reiterated the RSK authorities' stand that they would negotiate provided that Croatia obeyed U.N. Resolution 802, suspended its attacks and withdrew its troops to initial positions.

"Instead," said he, "information has come in from New York that the blame was equalled and that the arms should be again placed under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control, what would mean the disarming of the RSK alone, not also that of Croatia.

"If we are equal on the battlefront, then we must be equal at the talks, we must not be treated as a group that had done something wrong to the Croatian authorities," stressed Minister Jarcevic in conclusion.

Croats Issue Statement on Planned Talks

LD0602071393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] A meeting that is expected to take place in New York today between representatives of the Republic of Croatia and the self-appointed leaders of the rebel element of the Serbian community living in Croatia's protected areas is by no means a recognition of the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina, the permanent mission of the Republic of Croatia at the United Nations has announced in its statement. The meeting, held under the auspices of the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, will be attended on the Croatian side by Defense Minister Gojko Susak and Croatian UN Ambassador Mario Nobilo.

The only aim of this meeting, it is said in the statement, is to examine all possibilities for the full implementation of the Vance plan and the implementation of the UN Security Council's relevant resolutions. The statement draws attention to the four principles Croatia finds necessary for the resolution of the situation in the protected areas, particularly in light of the future debate on the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in Croatia. These principles are:

Total and effective disarmament of all paramilitary forces and militias in the protected areas and the placing of their heavy weaponry under strict UN control;

Voluntary and unconditional return of refugees, and displaced and detained persons;

Gradual reintegration of the pink and protected areas into the political, social, fiscal, transport, and judicial system of the Republic of Croatia;

Full enforcement of Croatian legislation on minority rights and human rights.

Croatia, the statement says, commends the meeting as an opportunity to increase trust and to achieve lasting peace and stability for all citizens in the Republic of Croatia. These talks testify to the Croatian Government's desire to take every measure necessary to make the talks within the framework of the conference on the former Yugoslavia successful. The statement stresses that Croatia reiterates that it cannot accept any solution that would threaten the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Croatia or the authority of its government over the entire area within the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia.

Fighting in Krajina Continues 7 Feb

LD0702144393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Knin, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The fiercest battles on the northern Dalmatian front are being waged around the villages of Kasici and Smilcic, the General Staff of the [Serb Republic] Army announced today. These villages are situated along one of Croatia's main front lines—toward Benkovac. Fighting also continued on part of the front from Maslenica toward Obrovac.

On other parts of the northern Dalmatian front, especially Sibenik, the Croatian Army is trying to open up new hotbeds of crisis and provoke conflicts with the defenders of Krajina. In so doing, Croatia has turned to the means it has already tried and tested—the sounding of a general alert, even in its own cities. [passage omitted]

The ISKRA agency reported that Croatian forces opened fire last night and this morning on the border village of Turanj, in the Karlovac region. A counterattack was equally fierce. The same source said that a general alert was sounded in Karlovac for the first time in eight months and that citizens were warned to find more secure shelter.

The General Staff of the [Serb Republic] Army also said in its statement that the Serb Army was putting up an active and successful defense.

Belgrade Radio Updates Krajina Fighting

AU0502163493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Report by Milos Rajkovic from Knin]

[Excerpts] The main directions of the attacks in southern Krajina are Rovanjska-Maslenica-Obrovac and Biograd Na Moru-Benkovac. Sporadic there has been firing by the Croatian forces in the region of (?Skrabin), in Lika near (?Plaski) and (?Teslingrad) as well as near Karlovac, Sisak, Osijek and Vinkovci. Hurried mobilization is being carried out in many Croatian places so that new forces can be sent to the southern Krajina front. The remaining Serbs are being forcefully mobilized in Sisak, and because of that some 600 of them have escaped from that city.

At today's news conference, Colonel Prota Novakovic, spokesman for the supreme command of the Serbian Krajina army, said that Croatian fighters were forced to defend themselves in certain places and even to withdraw a little bit. That is why they were digging in. Colonel Novakovic said that, during the two weeks of fighting, 92 Serbian fighters were killed, while 304 were wounded. At the same time, the supreme command has information that the losses on the Croatian side were many time greater. The number of 3,000 killed is mentioned. [passage omitted]

Colonel Novakovic refused to comment on the participation of the delegation of the republic of Serbian Krajina in the talks at the UN Security Council, stressing that political negotiations were in the hands of civilian authorities, while the army should carry out its duty.

Benkovac-Obrovac Front Experiences Fighting

AU0702150893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Report by Damir Kozul from Benkovac]

[Text] Ignoring the first few days of the latest Croat aggression on the republic of Serbian Krajina, the Benkovac-Obrovac front is today witnessing the fiercest fighting. Ustasha forces launched fierce attacks in some places during the night. The attacks spread along the entire frontline in the early hours of the morning. The Serbian Army and volunteers are responding fiercely, and the enemy was forced to retreat from several places.

As in the last few days, the Croatian Ustasha forces have also been hitting civilian targets deep inside our territory where the refugees have been placed. We have not yet received any information on the casualties of the Serbian Army. It is difficult to predict how situation will develop.

The war is raging with all its ferocity, and everything between Maslenica and Biograd is in flames.

Serbs Complain of Further Benkovac Attacks

AU0602155693

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 6 February carries within its regular 30-minute newscasts two reports on the war situation in Krajina.

According to Milos Rajkovic reporting from Knin, "the 16th day of Croatian aggression on the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina has not resulted in any change regarding the balance of power. The Croatian Army is

continuing its offensive in the direction of Rovanjska-Maslenica-Obrovac, Zadar-Benkovac, and Biograd-Benkovac. The line of combat operations has, however, not changed. Last night and this morning, armed provocations were also registered in the region of Mount Velebit and other parts of the Lika front. We do not have any new information on casualties."

Correspondent Rajkovic also says that the delegation of the republic of Serbian Krajina has decided not to travel to New York for negotiations with the Croatian side. He said that the Krajina Serbs were categorical when they said that "there will be no negotiations until the last Croatian soldier leaves the territory of the Serbian Krajina."

Benkovac correspondent Damir Kozul reports that "there have been heavy artillery exchanges on the Benkovac-Obrovac front since last night. The enemy army is attacking the entire frontline. They are opening particularly heavy fire from the occupied village of Islam Grcki."

Kozul says that "the Serbian army is fiercely responding to all attacks, but its fire is only aimed at military targets."

Serbs Said To Take 'Initiative' in Fighting

LD0702230393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2153 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina today liberated the village of Pridraga in the battlefield of North Dalmatia and is now fighting for Podgradina, a strategically important location in the immediate vicinity of Novigrad, we have learned from military sources in Knin.

Fierce battles are also being waged in the broader area of the village of Kasic and Smircic.

Krajina's military sources describe today's battles as "strenuous and bloody," and say that "heavy losses in personnel and military hardware have been inflicted on the aggressor." Three Croatian tanks, among other things, have been destroyed.

The same sources note that despite their failure in today's battles, the Croatians have not given up their goals, as they continue to bring in fresh troops to the Zadar hinterland in order to improve their position on the battlefield and to attempt to retake the liberated area.

General Mile Novakovic, commander of the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, confirmed that Krajina's forces have taken the initiative.

RSK Commander: Croat Offensive To Be Broken

LD0602134893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1211 GMT 6 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, February 6 (TANJUG)—Commander of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Major-General Mile Novakovic on Saturday [6 February] said that the general offensive of the Croatian Army on territories which are protected by the United Nations (U.N.) peace forces would soon be broken.

"Not one inch of Serb territory will be controlled by the Ustashi (Croats), and their several days long general offensive will soon be completely broken," Gen. Novakovic said in an interview which is published in the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK on Saturday. Novi Sad is the main city of the northern province of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

The Croatian Army on January 22 attacked and occupied parts of Krajina, a region of former Yugoslavia which has been under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) since spring last year. The Croatian attack caused many casualties, much destruction and a new wave of refugees.

Gen. Novakovic said that the UNPROFOR had been informed ahead of the Croatian offensive that the attack would take place. "We sent a letter of warning some ten days before the general attack to members of the French and Kenyan UNPROFOR batallions deployed in Krajina, UNPROFOR Commander Gen. Satish Nambiar, Cochairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali," Gen. Novakovic said.

He said that the letter gave a detailed plan of the impending Croatian aggression, the deployment of enemy units, even the number of tanks, armored cars and artillery units.

The Krajina force commander underscored that he firmly believed that the attack on the region of the Maslenica bridge and Zemunik airport, strategically important places which were the first to be captured by the Croatian Army, "had been executed with the knowledge and approval of the U.N. Security Council."

Those who wrote the scenario for this offensive wanted the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to enter into open war with Croatia, so that they could then attack its Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Gen. Novakovic said. "It is good that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remained on the side and did not fall for this transparent trick played by the West," Gen. Novakovic said.

"We shall do everything to enable the UNPROFOR troops to return to their previous positions, to give them one more chance in their mission of protecting the Serb people in Krajina, but we place the greatest confidence in our own abilities," the general concluded.

It was announced on Friday that a delegation of the Republic of Serb Krajina would not go to the U.N. headquarters in New York. Krajina officials said that they would negotiate with the Croats only after the Zagreb authorities unconditionally comply with Security Council Resolutions 802 and 762, which call for an end to the aggression on Krajina and the withdrawal of the Croatian Army to the positions it held before January 22 this year.

Krajina Army Issues Statement on Croat Offensive

LD0602152293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1410 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, February 6 (TANJUG)—The objective of the continued Croatian Army offensive in the northern Dalmatian front is to penetrate deep inside the Republic of Serb Krajina, to cut off communications and break up the front, the General Staff of the Krajina Army said on Saturday [6 February]. Krajina is a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA).

Croatian attacks are still coming from cities on the Croatian coast (Biograd na Moru and Zadar) and the Maslenica region in the Dalmatian hinterland. They are aimed at the Krajina cities of Benkovac and Obrovac. The Krajina Army continues actively to defend its positions on the northern Dalmatian front, "to keep its positions and to correct the frontline," said the statement.

According to the Krajina General Staff statement, the Croatian Army also launched attacks on Mt. Velebit and other parts of the front in the region of Lika. Croatian artillery units are attacking Krajina defence positions in Lika. It was quiet in the Drnis region on Saturday morning, the TANJUG correspondent said.

The Croatian Army on January 22 this year attacked and occupied parts of so-called Sector South of the Republic of Serb Krajina. The attack resulted in many casualties and severe destruction. With its continued offensive, Croatia is ignoring U.N. Security Council resolutions which demand an end to its aggression and the withdrawal of its forces to their earlier positions.

Zadar, Biograd Hit by Serb Artillery Fire

LD0702090993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Excerpt] A general alert was sounded in Zadar and Biograd at 0635 this morning. At about 0530, Serb paramilitary formations opened artillery fire on positions in the Zadar and Biograd hinterland. Explosions in Ravni Kotari can be heard at regular intervals. About 40 minutes after the enemy attack began, shells started falling on the outskirts of Zadar and Biograd, and citizens were told to go to their shelters. [passage omitted]

Bobetko: No Withdrawal From Recaptured Regions

AU0502190693 Paris AFP in English 1852 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 5 (AFP)—Croatian forces and Serbs clashed sporadically in southern Croatia Friday [5 February] as life returned to normal in the coastal region near Zadar and Biograd after two weeks of fighting, Croatian army sources said.

An alert along the front formed by Sibenik, Drnis and Sinj remained in force for the 14th straight day as fighting continued, and Serb forces at Drnis, near the Serb stronghold of Knin, bombarded Croatian positions for three hours, the sources said.

The Karlovac region, only 50 kilometres (30 miles) southwest of Zagreb, was reported calm after several days of skirmishing which raised fears of a more generalised conflict. Croatian forces there were reinforced and were "unlikely to be taken by surprise", a local army source quoted by Zagreb radio said.

Schools at Zadar and Biograd, on the Adriatic coast, remained closed as a security precaution and "armed provocations" by Serb forces were reported.

United Nations peacekeepers were preparing Friday to return to their positions at Benkovac and Obrovac in the Serb-controlled region of Krajina which they were forced to abandon during a Croatian offensive last month, U.N. Protection Force officials in Belgrade said.

The Krajina Serbs had "strongly encouraged" the peacekeepers to return to the region where more than 11,000 refugees had fled the combat zones, an UNPROFOR spokesman said.

The Croatian military leader who conducted the Croatian offensive in the Krajina, General Janko Bobetko, ruled out a withdrawal by his forces from the regions seized during the fighting, as ordered by U.N. Security Council resolution 802.

In an interview with the official weekly DANAS he also called for an international intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina where, he said, "if the West wants to end the war, now is the moment to intervene".

Without such an intervention, he warned, "the war will continue until one side exterminates the other".

Radio Zagreb said that Bosnian Croat and Moslem forces were opposing Serb forces at Travnik, in central Bosnia.

Karlovac Tribunal Sentences 3 for Terrorism

LD0602152993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Summary] The Karlovac tribunal sentenced Simo Dubajic, Mile Bosnic, and Milovan Matijevic to 15 years' imprisonment for the criminal act of terrorism. Dubajic, 70, was charged with setting up barricades on the Obrovac-Gracac Road and seriously wounding two people in 1990. The other two were charged—in their capacity as presidents of the newly-formed Slunj Municipal Assembly and Executive Council within the Krajina Autonomous Region—with killing about 15 persons and expelling and robbing Croats from this municipality.

All three are fugitives, and a warrant for their arrest has been issued.

Dispute Reported Between Serb Krajina Leaders

LD0702200293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] We have learned from reliable sources that the situation in so-called Serb Krajina is not as the warlords would want it to be. Among other things, we have learned that this month so-called Sheriff of Knin Milan Martic and Arkan [Serbian parliament deputy and paramilitary leader Zeljko Raznjatovic], leader of the Serbian volunteers, clashed over strategy. Arkan was very angry because, as he said, he had found the Knin fighters in a state of total disarray. He accused Martic of losing more than 15 kilometers of territory, of having disarmed himself voluntarily, and of having dismissed most of his army.

The fiercest clash between the two criminals was triggered by their dispute over authority over the Army's operations. Arkan wanted to lead the operations himself and to subordinate all the units to his command and wage a bloody war regardless of casualties. Martic, who is well aware of the situation in his so-called ministate, knows that a war to the last man is impossible for the Krajina outlaws now. The people of Knin have had enough war, supplies are very scant, and the help they receive from the so- called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is insufficient. In addition, the people of Benkovac and Obrovac have literally fled the area.

We have learned that many able-bodied men have fled to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Martic was also against attacks along the entire front line. Many harsh words were used in their conversation. The current situation in Knin is still unclear because of the confrontation between the warlords and also because there is less and less war booty, so the imported chetniks do not feel like dying.

Croatia Importing Iranian Crude Oil

LD0602212893 Tehran IRNA in English 1558 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 6, IRNA— The Croatian INA oil company said this weekend that it expected the delivery of 80,000 tonnes of Iranian crude by the end of next week which will satisfy the needs of the domestic market.

The Iranian oil will arrive at Croatia's largest refinery at the northern Adriatic port of Rijeka. The Rijeka refinery used 200,000 tonnes of crude in January and plans the same quantity for February.

INA reports that 90,000 tonnes are being processed for a Chinese firm. The Croatian oil company has contracted to process 800,000 tonnes for China.

Tudjman Meets With Visiting U.S. Senators

LD0502233493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2200 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman met this evening with a group of U.S. Senators, led by James Merrill Jeffords, Arlen Specter, and Hank Brown. They were accompanied by two representatives of the American Embassy. They spoke about the recent and completed action of the Croatian constabulary in the Novsko Zdrilo region and about the current situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina. President Tudjman and his guests also discussed the work of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and possible steps after their mandate comes to an end in Croatia. The president's office expressed both sides' wish to strengthen relations between Croatia and the United States.

Parliamentary, Regional Council Elections Held

LD0702151093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1440 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, February 7 (TANJUG)—Elections are held today in Croatia for the House of Districts of Croatian Parliament and county and town councils.

Twenty-six of the 54 parties in Croatia fielded candidates for the elections. Polls conducted during the election campaign showed that the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) of President Franjo Tudjman stands the best chances to win the elections. The latest poll conducted by the Zagreb daily VECERNJI list showed that around 36.6 percent of the vote would go to HDZ, and that the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLS) of Drazen Budisa would get 18.5 percent, while other parties were expected to get just a few percent votes.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman was quoted by Croatian Radio as saying that these elections would round off the Croatian system.

"After this we shall be able to devote ourselves to solving economic problems," Tudjman said.

Initial unofficial results are expected late on February 8.

During the election campaign of the HDZ, Tudjman placed much emphasis on the offensive launched on January 22 by Croatian forces on the Republic of Serb Krajina, Serb-populated territories protected by the United Nations, saying that this was an opening to "the liberation of all Croat territories." Official Zagreb is opposed to the U.N. extending the mandate of U.N. peace forces in the Krajina territories.

A U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has been stationed for almost a year in zones with a predominantly Serb population.

Federal

Envoy Tells U.S. of 'Dissatisfaction' With Report

LD0602202893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Washington, February 6 (TANJUG)—Charge d'affaires of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Embassy in Washington Ivan Zivkovic on Saturday [6 February] communicated to the U.S. State Department Yugoslavia's dissatisfaction with the extremely one-sided and biased contents of a State Department report on the state of human rights in the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

In a talk with Michael Habib, head of the division for Eastern European countries, Zivkovic also expressed Yugoslavia's dissatisfaction with the State Department reports on the state of human rights in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

The Yugoslav charge d'affaires said that the fact that the Serbian people was treated as the sole culprit for the tragedy which has affected parts of the former Yugoslavia was unacceptable.

Zivkovic said that the contents and tone of the reports contributed to intensifying the anti-Serbian hysteria in U.S. media and encouraged, both within the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia-Hercegovina, and elsewhere in the world the forces which are struggling against an equitable political solution to the war in that former Yugoslav republic.

Commentator Assesses Course of Vance-Owen Talks

AU0602173493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 93

["Military-political commentary" by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] There is a good reason why the world has suddenly focused on the UN headquarters in New York, where the plan on settling the crisis in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina drafted by cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen is being discussed. Let us recall that the plan contains three documents: constitutional principles, a complex of military issues, and the maps of the territorial delineation of the Muslim, Serbian, and Croat ethnic communities.

Since it has been offered more than it expected, including a broad backing by its parent country, the Croatian community accepted all three documents. The Serbs agree with the draft constitutional principles and the complex of military solutions, but have objections to the map. It appears that the Muslims have still not stopped dreaming about a unitarian state organized on the basis of Muslim religious law. This is why they have not accepted any of the offered documents, despite the fact that they have been given significant concessions.

This made Lord Owen tell CBS that the Muslim government of President Izetbegovic is hindering the peace process by counting on Washington's support concerning its demand for the lifting of the embargo on the import of arms. The Muslims are even counting on the United States to help them with direct military intervention. Washington's protectoral and yielding attitude toward the Bosnian Muslims undoubtedly stems from the desire to invest in friendly ties with Turkey, which has been assigned the role of the future regional power, and particularly with Saudi Arabia and other oil rich and influential Islamic countries.

After all, this has been best noticed this week when an idea on some kind of improvements to the Vance-Owen plan was revealed through unofficial channels. These improvements would be reflected in a greater U.S. humanitarian-diplomatic involvement aimed at pleasing the interests of the Bosnian Muslims.

Despite the obvious cooperativeness in the painstaking peace process that has been expressed by the Bosnian Serbs and their compatriots throughout the former Yugoslavia, the world bosses, judging by everything, have not found this to be insufficient. If they had, would a secret plan for a military intervention of Western powers against the Serbs in Bosnia and even strikes against vital facilities on the territory of their parent country, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, have been prepared in Paris? Why would a list of additional measures for blocking Serbia and Montenegro be prepared at the EC meeting in Brussels and the CSCE session in Prague? Why are Sandzak, Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija], and Vojvodina being increasingly mentioned as potential crisis spots? What is the purpose of so many navy ships of the United States, Britain, and France in the Adriatic Sea? The explanation that three aircraft and two helicopter carriers, 60 combat and some 30 auxiliary ships, and more than 100 combat aircraft and about 40 helicopters—in addition to NATO's permanent fleet in the Mediterranean and the WEU [Western European Union] fleet guarding the entry into our territorial waters—are there to help the UN blue helmets on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia simply does not hold water.

What would happen if each one of the 25 countries that have soldiers in the UN Protection Force sent several of their naval ships to the Adriatic? There is no doubt that the unprecedented pressure and the demonstration of military power are aimed at forcing the Serbian side to accept at the negotiating table what is being imposed on it. In doing so they are obviously forgetting the old truth that force can only achieve illusory peace and a lasting and stable peace can only be achieved by recognizing the legitimate rights of all peoples.

Cosic Receives Russian Envoy, Yeltsin Message

LD0802140793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1104 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Fedaral Republic of Yugoslavia, today

received the ambassador of the Russian Federation, Gennadiy Shikin, who passed on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's reply to a letter sent to him on 1 February this year.

In his reply, Yeltsin expresses his gratitude for the high assessment of Russia's role in the search for a solution to the crisis on the territory of former SFRY. President Yeltsin stresses that Russia will continue and will intensify its peacemaking efforts in the expectation that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will act likewise.

Army Chief Warns Against Foreign Intervention

LD0602091393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0008 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Athens, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army Chief of General Staff Gen. Zivota Panic has said the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is doing its utmost to avert a war.

"If we are to wage a war, we should certainly win it," Panic said in an interview to the Athens daily KATHIMERINI.

"The Balkans is not Iraq," said Gen. Panic adding that the participants in a possible foreign airborne or ground intervention would "experience very difficult moments."

The Yugoslav side has major advantages, including "excellent solutions in the field of missile technology and the anti-aircraft warfare," said Gen. Panic.

He condemned the outside interference in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia's aggression on the UN-protected Republic of Serb Krajina. However, he said, Croatia failed to achieve the goal of its aggression, that is to provoke the Yugoslav Army and encourage a foreign military intervention.

Zagreb is not acting independently which is proved by the fact that "some Western countries were disappointed that the Serbs agreed with the necessity of a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis," Panic set out.

He said NATO warships, which are controlling the naval blockade of Yugoslavia, last Tuesday [2 February] entered five miles into the Yugoslav Adriatic waters. "We warned them the Yugoslav forces will not allow this next time" and will take appropriate measures, Gen. Panic added.

Commander Warns Against Testing Air Defenses

LD0502233993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2057 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The current state of combat readiness of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense is characterized by a high level of readiness and determination to meet any possible aggression with full force, Commander of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic said.

General Stevanovic said this in an interview with Miroslav Lazanski, published in tomorrow's issue of POLITIKA, stressing that "any country that provides its territory, waters, or airspace for anyone carrying out aggression against Yugoslavia will run the risk of being regarded as aggressors by us."

The commander of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense adds that the combat systems of the Yugoslav Army are "considerable" and this is something that should be borne in mind by all those who would like to take part in an act of aggression.

"I would not advise anyone to test in reality the effectiveness and range of our defensive and offensive weaponry systems," General Stevanovic said.

Decision on Entry to World Bank Rests With IMF

LD0502120193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1153 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—All conditions exist for the World Bank to permit the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) to succeed former Yugoslavia as member of the World Bank, says Yugoslav Finance Minister Dragoslav Jovanovic.

The final decision will depend on the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) which might be biased against the F.R.Y., believes Jovanovic, who headed the Yugoslav delegation to talks with World Bank and I.M.F. officials in Washington on January 25 through 28.

Major requirements for perpetuating the membership—criteria and the division of assets (quotas) of the former Yugoslav Republics—have been virtually agreed, says Jovanovic.

On April 27 last, Serbia and Montenegro proclaimed the F.R.Y., to perpetuate Yugoslavia after the secession of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia from the original six-republic federation.

The European Community had previously recognized Croatia and Slovenia as independent states on January 15, and Bosnia-Hercegovina on April 7. Macedonia has not been granted recognition.

Debt repayment is one of the main prerequisites for perpetuating membership. It has been agreed that, by March 1, the Yugoslav Government draw up a programme of meeting its obligations. The F.R.Y.'s maturities payable to the World Bank at the end of last year stood at 200 million dollars, explains Jovanovic.

He says that the World Bank will unfreeze some of the F.R.Y.'s assets in order to enable it to repay its obligations to financial institutions.

Jovanovic says that international economic sanctions and frozen assets abroad have prevented the F.R.Y. from

honouring its obligations to the World Bank and other financial institutions, although it has tried to do so.

A protocol signed at the close of the Washington talks says that the F.R.Y. has no obligations in connection with credits taken by Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia. The only question in dispute is Bosnia-Hercegovina, because the World Bank does not have a negotiator from this republic.

Sanctions Threaten Spring Sowing, Agriculture

LD0602113693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1103 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Report by Milica Knezevic]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The spring sowing in Yugoslavia will be very difficult to complete on account of a serious shortage of diesel fuel, spare parts for machinery and fertilizers.

About 100,000 tonnes of diesel fuel are needed for the sowing in Serbia alone, but no guarantee can be given at the moment that even a minimal quantity will be available, Rade Vujanov, counsellor at the Chamber of Economy of Serbia, told TANJUG.

On May 30 last year the U.N. Security Council imposed tough economic and political sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is made up of Serbia and Montenegro, two of the former Yugoslavia's six republics, on account of its alleged involvement in the civil war in breakaway Bosnia-Hercegovina. These sanctions include an embargo on imports of petroleum and spare parts for agricultural and other machinery.

The Chamber of Economy of Vojvodina said on Thursday that at least 38 million dollars were needed this year for pesticides alone—experts say about 5.3 tonnes will be needed for minimal protection of crops against insect pests, weeds and diseases.

In earlier years Yugoslavia's granary Vojvodina used about 9.5 tonnes of pesticides a year, or almost six kilogrammes a hectare. Domestic pesticide production is import-dependent, and pesticide imports are also under embargo. All fertilizer plants have also stopped production, mainly on account of a shortage of ammonia.

Yugoslavia's biggest ammonia plant in Pancevo needs 45,000 cubic metres of gas per hour for normal production, which it cannot get. Only high-quality seed stocks are sufficient at the moment.

The board of governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia in mid-January decided that priority benefactors of money issue funds would be the spring sowing, export-oriented goods waiting for a lifting of the sanctions and preparations for the tourist season. In spite of this, the agricultural sector says funds are still far from sufficient.

Yugoslavia's agricultural potential allows it to easily feed its 10.4 million population, including over 600,000 refugees, but the problems accompanying this year's spring planting do not create favourable prospects for a good harvest. A country whose population has since the sanctions were imposed arrived at the threshold of a subsistence level is now threatened by hunger.

Serbia

Draskovic Confident U.S. To Endorse Plan

LD0702191493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, February 7 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), one of the largest opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, said he was confident that the U.S. administration would endorse the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I believe the administration of President Bill Clinton would accept, perhaps in a somewhat altered form the Vance-Owen plan, and I believe that in this there would be certain influence ... especially by the arguments that 'mini-cantonization' of each province in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be necessary, said Draskovic in an interview to the Voice of America in Washington.

The Vance-Owen plan envisages a division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten provinces with a loose central government.

A civil, ethnic and religious war raged in Bosnia-Hercegovina for the past ten months between the Bosnian Serbs and the local Moslems and Croats.

The Vance-Owen plan has so far been upheld by the European Community, Russia and China, while the U.S. administration was hesitant believing it was not favorable to the Bosnian Moslems.

The plan goes to the U.N. Security Council next week.

Draskovic, currently staying in Washington, told the Voice of America he had talks at the U.S. National Security Council, with Assistant State Secretary Robert Niles as well as with a number of influential senators and House of Representatives members, including Helen Delich Bentley, a congresswoman from Maryland who is of Serb descent.

The essence of the talks, Draskovic specified, was that the policy of blaming only one side in a horrifying civil war has to be abandoned.

I have tried to offer assurances that there was no anti-American feeling among the Serbian people, and where there was, it was a reaction to some mistakes the U.S. administration was making by disregarding the difference between the Serbian people and the regime. I tried to assure them that no one has ever punished the Serbian people as much as the present Serbian regime was doing

and that there was no sense in additional punishment, especially collective punishment, Draskovic told the Voice of America.

Assembly To Elect Prime Minister 10 Feb

AU0502201093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The Information Service of the Serbian Assembly has asked us to make the following announcement:

The session of the National Assembly of Serbia will continue work at 1000 on Wednesday, 10 February. The prime minister, deputy prime ministers, and Serbian government ministers are to be elected at this session.

Wages For 780,000 Workers Obtained in Loans

LD0802130893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, February 8 (TANJUG)—The economy of Serbia used the funds of the Republican Fund for minimum wages to pay up the wages for 780,000 workers on forced vacation in the eight months of the economic sanctions, the fund's president Momir Pavlicevic stated on Monday [8 February].

The fund was formed in June last year, after the international embargo was introduced against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and its two members—Serbia and Montenegro.

Relevant decisions adopted by the Serbian government at 1992 half-year state that enterprises must pay the workers on forced vacation due to sanctions as much as 75 percent of their wages had they been working. The money the enterprises lacked will be lent under favorable conditions by the fund.

The majority of enterprises has used these funds for from between two and four months, said Pavlicevic.

Serbian economy employs around 2.2 million, of which at least 600,000, according to the Republican Trade Union information, were on forced vacation.

The sanctions, Pavlicevic said, have hit the hardest those areas which were highly dependent on imports and exports. The most frequent users of the fund were the enterprises in the metal and electrical industries, in textiles and ready-made clothes businesses, and in the basic chemical industry.

He added that there were increasingly frequent initiatives that the republic should limit the funds available, and instead back financially the promising production programs.

Opposition Thought To Be Falling Apart

AU0802094393 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 93 pp 21, 22

[Report by Dragan Bujosevic: "One of the Letters of Democracy"]

[Text] "Hey, can you imagine that Vuk Draskovic and Vojislav Kostunica talked to each other roaring with laughter," a member of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] recently informed us. If such news is not a sensation, than it is at least a rarity.

That happened a few days after the alliance of the DPS and the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] had definitely fallen apart in the Belgrade municipality Savski Venac. What actually happened there will subsequently be discovered. What we know is that the people from the SPO, the DSS, and the Democratic Party [DS] had signed up the coalition, and that the SPO had one-sidedly retreated. Thereafter, according to the DSS and the DS, the people from the SPO voted for Milosevic's candidate for vice-chairman of Savski Venac Municipal Office, and Milosevic's people returned the favor by voting for the SPO candidate for chairman. The committee members of the DS and the DSS showed one another the ballots, so they knew for whom each of them voted. When Nikola Adasevic, the elected chairman started to talk in the name of the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS], the people from the DSS cut in on his speech, saying that from now on he can speak only in the name of his own party, the SPO, because the DEPOS coalition no longer exists. And so he did, while the others kept on interrupting his speech with the well-known slogan "That is the way to do it" expressing their conviction of their former friend's new political colors.

Who Pulls the Strings?

Draskovic, the leader of the SPO, who leaves on 31 January for a visit to the United States, commented on the issue: "The Municipal Committee of the SPO issued two statements, and everything is clear. There has not been any coalition with the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], however, there have been many clever tricks and much unnecessary clamor. It is the DS that is behind it all. Without any explanation it rejected the offer to share in the administration in five Belgrade precincts where the DEPOS had won the majority. In Savski Venac they were offered the post of vice-chairman. They demanded that of the chairman, although they had won only eight mandates in the municipal committee, while the DEPOS had won 16. The SPS had the strategy to drive us into a corner, to prevent establishing the new authorities, and to force out the new elections. In such a situation, some leading people in the DSS, being the coalition partners, came upon the idea to offer the vice- chairman's office to the socialists, in view of the fact that they had won only 12 mandates. The DSS people negotiated with the SPS, and the SPO did not interfere. The voting was secret. How such results came about I do not know. I would like to believe that the DSS committee members voted for

the SPO chairman candidate, as well as the DS committee members. The SPO candidate gained only 20 votes, and if the socialists had also voted, he should have won 32 votes. Obviously a split occurred in the DSS—one faction wanted to back up a socialist candidate, the other one was against it. I feel very uncomfortable discussing this matter. The policy of blind exclusiveness will lead us nowhere. I think that there are, unfortunately, people both in the SPS and in the DEPOS who condemn even close links or a mere sharing of tables in taverns. This is ridiculous. If it is a normal thing for a DEPOS man to be vice-chairman in the Serbian Assembly, then why would it not be normal for the SPS people to be appointed to the functions appropriate to their election results in districts where they did not win the majority? That is how democracy works. Democracy is tested through the attitude of the majority toward the minority, through a tolerant attitude of authorities toward the opposition."

Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the DSS, also commented on the issue: "I do not believe that we refer here to the real opposition. It seems to me that everything happened because of reckless behavior and ignorance of the rules of the political and parliament game. One can see that in the statement of the DEPOS member in Smederevo, who complains that only Seselj's [Serbian Radical Party leader] representative entered the local administration, and not one of the 10 DEPOS representatives. It is quite natural that the DEPOS tried to form a coalition administration in Savski Venac with the DS. The Executive Committee of the DEPOS maintains the firm attitude that any coalition with the SPS is out of question. Perhaps there might be some exceptions on the level of local administrations, but only if there is no other way of forming that administration."

Matija Beckovic, the wise gray head of the newly formed DEPOS Presidency, also gave his opinion: "I have to say that what I know about the DEPOS, and what the DEPOS is, has nothing to do with the issue. It actually concerns the basic political rights of the parties, with which the DEPOS does not interfere. In any case, I do not believe that the DEPOS will form a government, or any coalition with the present authorities. Such a notion conflicts with the sole sense of DEPOS's existence, it is its negation."

Let Us Have a Cup of Coffee

This lengthy story about the case of Savski Venac is only an illustration of the other side of the DEPOS image. Designed to manifest above all the unity of the opposition, the DEPOS managed to dissolve the DS, and to constantly show its variability. The more it insists on the unity among its own flock, the more the press writes, or the people gossip about discords within it. People retell the story that Draskovic slammed the door on Kostunica, saying that he would talk to him again only if Kostunica sent him a letter of apology. Or, was it that Kostunica took his bag, slammed the door and... drank a little scotch? Then each invited the other to have a cup of coffee. My place, of course. No, no, my place. And the one who got bored first would give up, and go there.

Also, a discord appears regarding the possibility of having two or more representative clubs in the Assembly, rather than only one:

"I have an impression that by forming several clubs, the DEPOS shows its diverse character, which is not the case with the ruling party, which is entitled by law to set up 10 clubs. Not doing so is not a virtue of the ruling party, and wanting it is not a fault in the DEPOS. And what it asks for itself does not mean forbidding the same to other parties. It will be very interesting to see the outcome, for this matter has to do with the essence of democracy and the parliament life," Beckovic said.

At this moment, the DEPOS are the SPO, the DSS, the New Democracy, that is obviously a new darling making things up, and the non-partisan people. Kostunica said just after the elections that the DEPOS should be organized as a confederation of the SPO and the DSS, and that one should reconsider the role of those persons who had refused to be put forward as candidates.

According to Kostunica, the DEPOS has a quite distinct double nature: "Non-partisan people have elicited more effect with their names, and influence, and they are not engaged in wearisome everyday political practice. Among the parties there should exist a clear deal, which would prevent the DEPOS from turning into one party. Then, the non-partisan people would lose every interest in hanging in there."

Asked to comment on the remark about the confederalization of the DEPOS, Beckovic answered: "We shall engage ourselves less and less with the past events, and try to perceive what is happening now, and what will happen tomorrow. We shall do our best not to disappoint thousands of people who in the last couple of days enrolled themselves in the DEPOS, and who are not interested in any personal political gain. It would be very discrediting for the DEPOS to accept only crumbs of political power, and be satisfied with that. Our situation is quite desperate, unique. This is the first time that the winning party did not win the elections, and the losing party did not lose. There are groups, individuals, who are contacting the DEPOS as late as now. It is not necessary to create the new DEPOS, if we are able to preserve and improve the best of the old one. I do not believe in the future of this Assembly, particularly that the mandate of these representatives will last four years. The cheering during the inauguration of the new Assembly referred more to the unity of a two-headed party, than to the results of the election. As early as at the first session, the status of the opposition could be discerned, and even that first scene made the people depressed."

Milan Bozovic, member of the Serbian Liberal Party, sees no need for some particular strategy and diplomacy: "Although Draskovic claims that the SPO makes up 90 percent of the DEPOS, although he accounts carelessly for his moves, or comes late to the meetings of the

Council of the DEPOS, and then leaves them before letting other people respond to his assertions, although on his own initiative he promises to the people thousands of German marks, I think that he is, nevertheless, fully aware that the DEPOS provides him with many necessary things that add to his personal rating. If Kostunica says that Draskovic's assessment regarding the number of mandates that were possibly won by the SPO is not true, Draskovic also knows that he followed his friends' advice, and entered the elections within the DEPOS, which is to say that he needs the DEPOS. Besides, as Kostunica put it, the SPO and the DSS are parties that do not differ in their memberships, electorate, way of acting, strategy, political style, language...."

A question is addressed to Beckovic: "Perhaps it is cynical, but the people say that Vuk [Draskovic] has needed the DEPOS to attract all those prominent people he did not have among his membership before, and, on the other hand, those prominent heads have needed the audience that Vuk [Draskovic] has been able to provide them with, those so-called constructors of political sites—races, masses, and classes. Is that true?"

Beckovic answers: "You know, in every lie there is always a bit of truth. However, it is important that it is only a bit. And what is not true, is usually the essence of a matter. However, if that were the only problem, it would not be a problem at all. Certainly, parties and leaders do not live on pure ideals, they also have quite ordinary needs, ambitions. There is something about Draskovic that irritates the authorities tremendously. I do not know precisely what that would be. But, if I were capable of formulating it, that would be Draskovic's greatest advantage."

Draskovic adds: "I insist upon a united DEPOS, and the DEPOS will be that way, or no way. However, it will be that way. The SPO will not let it die."

Kostunica: "The DEPOS is necessary because it presents a political organization of the citizens' resistance. Other forms of resistance are still small, dissipated, unorganized.... We shall live for a long time in a society where political violence, some new forms of political terror generated from a mixture of Milosevic's and Seselj's parties will reign. Whatever the price may be, a pole must be created for the people to gather around, that will resist that mixture. Our experience shows that other modes of political strategy, like leaning on shallow-rooted politicians (Milan Panic), or flirting with unexplicit supporters of the SPS, only dodge commitment with the essential political issues."

Beckovic: "The DEPOS has some obligations to fulfill, unpaid debts, goals that have never been given up. The DEPOS will not forget that the opposition did not enter the Assembly, nor will it believe that the main goal can be achieved by entering the Assembly. Our main goal is the change of regime in Serbia. Now, everyone can see how necessary the united opposition is. And even if the DEPOS falls apart, somebody will found it again, for its existence is definitely necessary. The essential thing is the genuine need and real reason for the existence of such a coalition."

Macedonia

Bulgaria's Zhelev Arrives on Unofficial Visit

AU0502111493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1017 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Telephone report by special correspondent Martin Minkov in Skopje on 5 February]

[Text] Literally minutes ago, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev arrived in the capital of the Republic of Macedonia. He is accompanied by his wife and advisers, and was met at the Bulgarian-Macedonian border near Gyushevo by the chief and top officials of the office of the Macedonian president and of the Macedonian Foreign Ministry.

Dr. Zhelev is being accommodated in the Vodno Residence, and is expected to begin his meeting with Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, shortly. This meeting will take place in the building of the Macedonian parliament, where the president has his office.

Despite the unofficial nature of the visit, it is being followed with interest by the local media. In spite of the policy of openness and equality in relations with Macedonia's neighbors that President Gligorov has put forward, they can hardly be suspected of harboring sympathies toward Bulgaria. However, that is another subject.

One hopes that the presentation of the book *Fascism* in Skopje today in the presence of its author, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, will mark the real start of the opening up of cultural relations that is so necessary. This will take place early this afternoon at the offices of Misul Publishers at a function attended by politicians, cultural figures, and intellectuals.

However, as I mentioned, before the presentation Presidents Zhelev and Gligorov are due to hold talks, while simultaneously the teams of the two presidential institutions are to hold parallel discussions. In my view, these talks define the working nature of the visit, even though it is unofficial.

Later today a luncheon is to be given for Dr. Zhelev, which, according to my information, in addition to the two presidents, will also be attended by Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia Stoyan Andov, Prime Minister Vranko Crvenkovski, and Foreign Minister Denko Malevski—in other words, the political elite of Macedonia.

Before President Zhelev's departure, Dr. Zhelev and Kiro Gligorov are expected to make statements to reporters.

Presidents Attend Book Presentation

AU0502181893 Sofia BTA in English 1651 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Koev]

[Text] Skopje, February 5 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev arrived on a one-day unofficial visit to the Republic of Macedonia today. He was welcomed by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and other officials.

Immediately after his arrival Dr. Zhelev and Kiro Gligorov held almost one-hour talks in one of the halls of the Macedonian Parliament on topical issues of bilateral relations.

Later on Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Gligorov visited the Skopje Misul Pulishing House where the new Macedonian edition of Dr. Zhelev's book "Fascism" was presented.

The Bulgarian President stressed that he views the publication of "Fascism" in the Republic of Macedonia not only as a kind gesture to his personality but as an expression of attention to the Republic of Bulgaria and its efforts to pursue a democratic policy not only at home but also in the Balkans. Dr. Zhelev dwelled on the democratic processes in the world and noted with regret that in many countries, including on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the natural progress of democratization has been blocked. In this connection the Bulgarian president expressed the hope that Bulgaria and Macedonia will successfully build rule of law states and would not experience the tragedies which we are all witnessing in our immediate vicinity.

Recognition Discussed

AU0502203193 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Koev]

[Text] Skopje, February 5 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev arrived on a one-day unofficial visit to the Republic of Macedonia today. He was welcomed by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and other officials.

Immediately after his arrival Zhelyu Zhelev and Kiro Gligorov held almost one-hour talks in one of the halls of the Macedonian Parliament discussing bilateral relations issues.

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At the end of the visit Mr. Zhelev and Mr. Gligorov made statements to the press.

"Bulgaria is pursuing an independent policy and is guided solely by its national interests and the norms of International Law," the Bulgarian president said. He recalled that Bulgaria was the first country in the world which on January 15, 1992 recognized four former Yugoslav republics, including Macedonia, showing that it is not guided by dual standards. "We hope that other countries too will recognize Macedonia and that it would be accepted as a member of the UN," President Zhelev said.

On his part President Gligorov pointed out that Macedonia is for the development of friendly relations with all its neighbours. He stressed that Bulgaria and Macedonia will stand side by side in the struggle for peace and democracy in the Balkans. Speaking of the proposal to refer the problem of the name of the republic to international arbitration, President Gligorov said that only legal matters can be settled through arbitration and that political issues such as this one should be settled only through political dialogue.

Zhelev, Gligorov Exchange Views

LD0502174393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Skopje, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—At the invitation of the Skopje-based Misla publishing house, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev paid a private visit to Skopje today where he attended the promotion of his book "Fascism—a Totalitarian State".

The book promotion was also attended by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, Macedonian Assembly Speaker Stojan Andov, other top-ranking officials of the Republic of Macedonia, and prominent artists and scientists.

Thanking the publisher and refusing to have his statement translated into the Macedonian language—stressing that it could be understood even without translation—Bulgarian President Zhelev expressed pleasure that his book is being published in Macedonia. He added that he views it not only as a sign of respect for himself, but also as an expression of esteem for the Republic of Bulgaria and for its efforts at democratic changes.

This morning, Presidents Zhelev and Gligorov exchanged views on the current situation in the Balkans, particularly on activities regarding Macedonia's application for UN membership. It has been learned that both sides expressed interest in the preservation of peace and

stability in the region and in the development of comprehensive relations and cooperation between the two republics.

The office of the Macedonian president announced that the two presidents are to meet again this afternoon.

Diplomat on Greek Embargo, EC Nonrecognition

PM0802123093 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 4 Feb 93 p 13

[Interview with Petar Mitev, official Macedonian representative in France, by Christophe Urbanowicz; date, place not given]

[Text] "Greece is asphyxiating Macedonia." This is the view of Petar Mitev, Macedonia's official representative in France who, in an interview to LE QUOTIDIEN, passed a harsh judgment on the EC's action. An EC which, by refusing to recognize this former Yugoslav republic, "has played with fire."

"Greece is asphyxiating Macedonia," Petar Mitev, the Macedonian Republic's official representative in France, said. According to the diplomat, 6,000,400,000 francs is the total amount of the losses suffered by Macedonia because of the embargo imposed on it by Greece a year ago to force this former Yugoslav republic to abandon the use of its name which Athens thinks belong exclusively to the Greek heritage.

"All Macedonian industry is hampered, because the Greek embargo on our country is superimposed on the one decreed by the United Nations against Serbia, our northern neighbor. By banning our access to the port of Salonika, Greece has deprived us of our window on the world market," Petar Mitev explained. The Macedonians, squeezed between Serbia and Greece, are forced to pass "either through Albania, whose port facilities are inadequate to handle our goods, or through Bulgaria, which forces us to make a detour of 800km."

In addition, "the Greek authorities are blocking oil supplies intended for Macedonia although, according to some sources, they are allowing through a number of goods for Serbia, in violation of the UN embargo on that country," the Macedonian said, stressing "the very close friendship between Greece and Serbia."

In addition to the embargo on Macedonian products and on oil intended for Macedonia, Greece "is slowing down the granting of Community aid to our country," Petar Mitev stressed. According to him, the EEC has granted a total of 110 million European Currency Units [ECU] to Macedonia. This aid "was in fact to compensate for the nonrecognition of Macedonia by the Twelve whereas, according to the Badinter Commission set up by the Twelve, this republic fully meets all the necessary conditions for being accepted into the international community as an independent state." However, he noted, "Macedonia has never received a single ECU" from the EC.

In the Macedonian affair, the EEC "has not fulfilled its role, giving way to Greek pressure," Petar Mitev said, "and, by refusing to recognize Macedonia, it has played with fire." If the conflict should spread to Macedonia, the 70 blue helmets (there will shortly be 700—LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS editor's note) who have come to that country at the request of Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov in the framework of the United Nations' preventive diplomacy, "will not be able to do anything but watch and report what they see." As for France, it has been "very active on the Macedonian issue and has always tried to find a compromise."

Macedonia's admission into the United Nations should be submitted to a Security Council vote between now and 25 February. For Petar Mitev, this will be "a close vote, as close as one vote either way."

Kosovo

ATA Reports Repression Intensifying

AU0802131793 Tirana ATA in English 1317 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—The Serbian repression and violence against the Albanians is being intensified in Kosovo, such as police expeditions in villages, maltreatments, youngsters called up for army and police services, children and aged people beaten, open threats, offences and humiliations. Besides, armed military and paramilitary forces are being installed in Kosovo with the aim of instigating the conflict and the war in Kosovo.

Rugova, Delegation Discuss Education Concerns

AU0502164193 Tirana ATA in English 1313 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—Recently Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo, had a consultative meeting with Kosovo's delegation on education. The delegation informed Mr. Rugova of the ongoing activity of the educational institutions. He was also acquainted with the stand of the Presidency of Kosovo education and its remarks on the non participation in the ongoing Albanian-Serb-Yugoslav talks on education by the Minister of Education of Kosovo Dr. Muhamet Bicaj and the indispensability of his participation in further talks, especially those held outside Kosovo.

Expressing his support for the performance and great engagement of the educational subjects of Kosovo in enlivening education even under these conditions, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that in the coming talks on education with the Serb party one should bear in mind the presentation and the institutional level, which means that these talks should be presided over by Dr. Bicaj.

Rugova Meets Japanese Officials

AU0502164393 Tirana ATA in English 1133 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, met with the representatives of the Japanese Embassy in Belgrade, Mr. Hitoshi Kavahara and Mr. Hoshiba, first secretaries of this embassy. President Rugova acquainted the Japanese guests with the fresh situation in Kosovo, respectively the constant militarization of this zone by the Serb regime, which presents a great danger not only for Kosovo but also for the whole region. The Albanians are making efforts to settle Kosovo's problem through peaceful way, but the Serb authorities are intensifying repression further aggravating the situation, Rugova said.

During the meeting they also talked on the international community's possibilities to engage itself more in the solution of Kosovo's problem, through sending UN or NATO troops there.

Trade Unionists Brief U.S. Delegation on Schools

AU0502180993 Tirana ATA in English 0923 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—The U.S. trade unions delegation headed by Davis Dorne, director of the Foreign Relations Department of the U.S. Teachers' Federation, and Jeffrey Balinger of the Institute of the Union of the Free Trade Unions AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations] met with representatives of the Independent Trade Unions of the Albanian education of Kosovo.

The Kosovar trade unionists said that actually the Serb official policy has suspended all the legal institutions of Kosovo and applied the system of national discrimination of cultural apartheid and genocide against 90 percent of its citizens, whom it deprives of the elementary human, civil, and national rights. For three years now, the Albanian education in Kosovo has been in the gravest position since its founding and this proves at the same time the grave and discriminating position of the Albanian nation in Kosovo, as the discrimination itself is realised on national basis.

The removal of 1,130 teachers and 22 thousand pupils is a result of this discrimination and grave situation in the Albanian education.

Rugova Demands UN Discussion of Kosovars

LD0502145893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Pristina, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (Demokratski Savez Kosova) [DAK], speaking at a news conference held in Pristina today, said that Albanians "will demand officially that the issue of Kosovo is now discussed at the United Nations".

Rugova hopes such a demand will succeed because, as he put it, the Geneva conference has failed. That is, Rugova said, the Geneva conference succeeded only in showing to the world what the real problems are behind the crisis on this soil.

Rugova accused Serbian authorities of "violence against Albanians, which they displayed during a drive to allegedly confiscate arms".

"More pressure has been put on DAK members. Presidents of several party branches have been arrested. Students are being stopped and recruited outside private houses where they attend classes," Rugova stated.

Asked if he would react to a letter Pristina academician Rexhep Qosja sent to Albanian President Berisha accusing Berisha "of abandoning his original support for the Kosovo Albanians," Rugova said that his party is not in the habit of doing this. Everyone has the right to think and make proposals, Rugova said. If this is done correctly and in the spirit of democracy, and Qosja is a prominent intellectual slightly too preoccupied with the issue of national identity of Albanians, this can only enrich political life.

Intellectual Wants 'Peaceful Change' of Borders

AU0802093193 Tirana ATA in English 0933 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Report by ATA: "Rexhep Qosja Meets in Pristina With the Representative of the CSCE Mission—the Albanian People Cannot Accept Less Than the Right for Self-Determination"]

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—The academician Rexhep Qosja met with the representative of the CSCE mission in Pristina, Mr. Daniel Druler, at the request of the latter to get in touch with Rexhep Qosja's viewpoints on the situation in Kosovo, the possible dialogue with the Serbian party, especially on his option for the solution to the question of Kosovo. The academician Rexhep Qosja told Mr. Druler among other things that Albanian people have been for over a century the most suffering people in the Balkans and it would be an international crime if this situation is allowed to continue after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the political and state recomposition in the Balkans which is underway. The Albanians in former Yugoslavia do not have much reason to be pleased with the state of (?international) factors towards their question, but they are still hoping in their conscience and justice. The question of Kosovo in particular, and the Albanian one in general, as a great question for nearly 3 million people, cannot be raised as a question of the human rights and freedoms. The Albanian people, as a separated people, cannot accept less than the right for national self-determination. "As far as I am concerned", the academician Rexhep Qosja said, "I see the correct and permanent solution of the

question of Kosovo in the peaceful change of the existing borders including here also Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja and the voluntary movement of the population, naturally after the census under the observation of the UNO, the CSCE and the European Community.

"Actually, the Serbian party does not accept the Albanian-Serbian talks, but they are inevitable." At the end he said that "Serbia cannot be against history for long", the forum of Albanian intellectuals in Pristina reports.

Albanian Official Views Human Rights Situation

AU0602181993 Tirana ATA in English 1315 GMT 6 Feb 93

["From the Interview With Halit Muharremi, minister of justice of the Republic of Kosovo"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 6 (ATA)—In his interview with the vice-director of the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, Faruk Myrtaj, the minister of justice of the Republic of Kosovo, Halit Muharremi, said that the grave injustice done to the Albanian people with their separation from the homeland and their contemptuous treatment by the big-Serb chauvinistic regime in the first and second Yugoslavia, forced them to always fight for equality and freedom. These efforts were intensified in the years 1989-1990, when they had been excluded from the negotiations to improve the relations among the peoples in order to create a new state. Under these conditions, the legitimate representatives of the people adopted some important decisions. They enacted the constitutional statement of July 4, 1990 and, relying on it, on September 7, 1990 the Assembly of Kosovo declared Kosovo a republic and adopted its constitution. These decisions and the all-people's referendum of 1991 are a basis for the activity of Kosovo's parliament. An eventual status which would mean Kosovo's remaining under Serbia, Mr. Muharremi said, would naturally be unacceptable, but it can not be believed either that such a thing will be imposed on the Albanians. Other countries are of the opinion that without the correct solution to the Albanian question in former Yugoslavia, especially that of Kosovo, there can be no stability and peace in the region.

Further on, the minister of justice of the Republic of Kosovo discussed ways to solve the problem of Kosovo. My opinion is that the peaceful and democratic engagement of the Albanian people in achieving freedom and independence should continue. And I believe the international community aid in this direction will not lack either, he said. On the other side, the expansionist and chauvinistic policy pursued by Belgrade leads Serbia towards its complete isolation. The maximum engagement in the diplomatic field and peaceful resistance are the best allies to attain final success.

Further he deals with the coordination of the activity between the parliament, government, and the president of the republic, implying also the cooperation with the political parties and other subjects, in particular with the Democratic League of Kosovo, led by Mr. Rugova. This implies that national consensus existed so far for settling the national issue, he said.

Answering the question regarding his considerations for the democratic process in Albania, Mr. Muharremi said that Albania enjoys a broader and all round international support than ever before. But in the first place the Albanians themselves should lend a powerful support to the democratic government. This is to the good of general interest. On the other hand the democratic Albania became a strong and reliable support for the Albanians far and wide the world, particularly owing to the commitment of the democratic government in solving the question of the Albanians in their ethnic territories in former Yugoslavia and Kosovo.